Irene Owen Andrews
Dublin - 1924

THE

MEMORIAL SLABS OF CLONMACNOIS,

KING'S COUNTY:

WITH AN

APPENDIX ON THE MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY,

BEING

THE EXTRA VOLUME

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

FOR

1907-8

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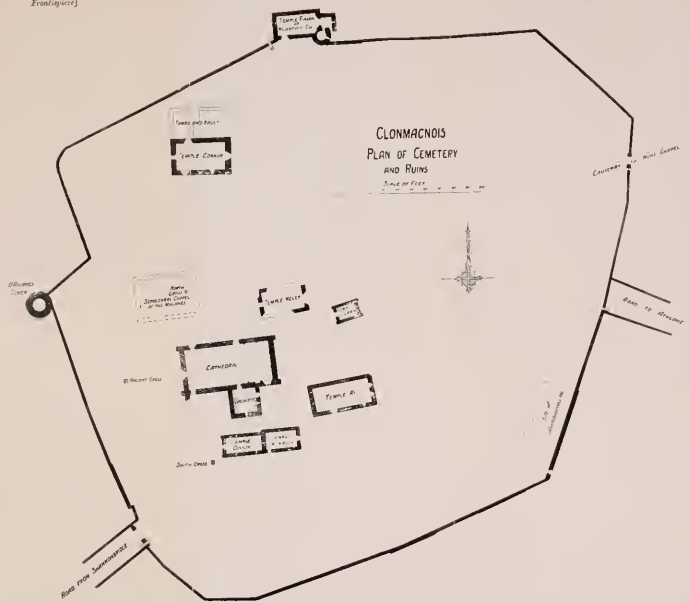
Frontispiece] *[To face title-page*



THE

MEMORIAL SLABS OF CLONMACNOIS,

KING'S COUNTY:

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APPENDIX ON THE MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY

BY

R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.,

Member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

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THE MEMORIAL SLABS OF CLONMACNOIS

INTRODUCTION

IN the year 1896 the Royal Society of Antiquaries published Conell Mageoghegan's translation of the lost *Annals of Clonmacnois*, under the editorship of the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J. It was intended to issue as a supplement to that work a series of illustrations of the existing remains at this ancient centre of Celtic Christianity; but, for various reasons, it was found impracticable to do so at the time. The project, however, was not allowed to fall out of sight by the Society; and, in 1897, the late Mr. D. Griffith Davies, then one of its members, was asked to make rubbings of the slabs for the purpose of publication. About forty were copied by him, and handed to Dr. Cochrane, then Honorary General Secretary of the Society, by whom they were forwarded for inspection to the late Mr. J. Romilly Allen. Mr. Allen invited me to visit him, and to see the rubbings; and together we examined them, comparing them carefully with the corresponding illustrations in Miss Stokes's edition of Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*.

This comparison impressed us both with the necessity of making accessible a collection of revised drawings of the slabs; many being omitted altogether from Petrie's collection, and several among the forty copied by Mr. Davies being rendered with greater or less inaccuracy. Mr. Allen, then fully engaged with his monumental work on the sculptured stones of Scotland, suggested that I should undertake the work, and, with the concurrence of the Society, I accepted the responsibility. Accordingly, in Easter, 1898, I paid my first visit to Clonmacnois, and took rubbings of all the slabs that Mr. Davies had passed over. Before I could finish the task of preparing drawings from these rubbings, I accepted an office under the Palestine Exploration Fund, the duties of which summoned me for two years to Palestine. There, in leisure moments, I completed the series. Meanwhile, I communicated to the Society a preliminary list of the slabs, published in the *Journal*, 1899, p. 116.

On returning home in 1901, I re-visited the cemetery, and compared the drawings with the original slabs. Not being satisfied with them, I took a second set of rubbings, from which, again in Palestine, I prepared a second set of drawings. Returning after four years' absence, I once more went to Clonmacnois, and again compared the drawings with the originals. All the necessary corrections having been made, they are now presented in the plates illustrating this work.

When Dr. Petrie visited Clonmacnois in 1822, he must have found nearly twice as many slabs as I was able to discover. It is doubtless possible that many of those that have disappeared still remain within the precincts of the graveyard, merely buried a few feet under the ground. For it appears that among the local peasantry these "saints' tombs" are regarded with a reverence well deserved, but (unfortunately for the study of Irish art) taking the form of adapting them as tombstones, or even of burying them with the coffin in newly made graves. The greater number of the slabs are too heavy for the tourist marauder to carry away from this fortunately not very accessible site; though the notorious case of vandalism in 1864 shows that neither the remoteness nor the sanctity of the place has made it altogether immune from such persons.

On the accompanying plates 207 different memorials are figured, among which two (Nos. 161 and 196) are on the reverse sides of Nos. 32 and 126 respectively, so that there are actually 205 slabs recorded.[1] One of these is, and has been since an unknown period, at St. Ciaran's Well, a quarter of a mile from the cemetery; the remaining 204 I found at my first visit in Clonmacnois. Of these, seven—namely, Nos. 4, 16, 58, 143, 146, 186, 207—were nowhere to be found at my third visit. Dr. Petrie records 166 inscribed slabs

[1] Since the plates were drawn another fragment has come to light, indexed in the list as No. 207 *bis*.

in his book; 59 of these are missing. It must be remembered, moreover, that Petrie has concerned himself only with the slabs which bear *inscriptions*; we have no parallel record of the large number of slabs that bear crosses only (most of which are published in the present work for the first time), and can only conjecture that many of them likewise have disappeared, leaving no trace behind.

Not only have many slabs been lost wholesale, but others have suffered very serious injury, both fractures and defacements. Many which Petrie saw intact have been broken into two or three pieces; fragments of others have been lost—indeed, in some cases, the slab has disappeared, all save a small and barely recognizable corner; while from others letters or devices have scaled or been chipped away.

The Board of Public Works, in whose custody are vested the remains at Clonmacnois, are fully alive to the importance of conserving these precious memorials of early Irish Christianity from further injury. The slabs that remain have now been all housed in two of the ruined chapels, where they are kept under lock and key. It is to be hoped that this will check the leakage.

In dealing with a series of documents such as these slabs, where it is impossible, in the majority of cases, to assign exact dates, the problem of the order to be followed in arranging them on the plates is not easy. A haphazard arrangement, drawing each as it happens to come, is not altogether to be deprecated, as it does

not appear to commit the describer to any theory of development or chronology. It has the objection, however, that it makes reference difficult, and throws obstacles in the way of comparison of similar specimens. After some thought, I decided to arrange the slabs on the plates in the following order:—*First*, those with inscriptions only;[1] *second*, those in which a small initial cross is added to the inscription; *third*, those in which the cross is still subordinate, but is not initial to the inscription; *fourth*, those in which the cross takes a prominent place relative to the inscription, and is either Latin (with prolonged stem) or Greek (with four equal arms); *fifth*, those in which the cross is enclosed within a square panel; *sixth*, those in which the panel is circular; *seventh*, those in which the arms of the cross project beyond the circumference of the circular panel (the familiar "Celtic cross"); *eighth*, those in which the circular panel dwindles to a small circular space at the centre, and corresponding semicircular expansions are added at the ends of the arms; *ninth*, similar crosses, but with looped "ears" at the corners of the expansions; and (after a few specimens, mostly fragmentary, incapable of more exact classification) *tenth*, a few slabs evidently of later date than the majority of the memorials. Exigencies of space have made it necessary to make slight modifications here and there; but it will be found that this arrangement has been retained

[1] Of course in some cases there may have been crosses on these, now broken away.

almost exactly throughout. While we have not yet sufficient knowledge of the progress of early Celtic Christian art to justify us in asserting that this order follows the actual course of evolution, it at least indicates a possible line which the development of the various forms of crosses might have followed; and the analysis in the later part of this work seems to show that this was actually the course of development that took place.

In the descriptions I have ventured to draw occasionally on the language of heraldry, which, though remote in association from the subject, has often the advantage of expressing tersely what could not be otherwise expressed accurately without circumlocution. The reader may be reminded that *dexter* and *sinister* imply "to the spectator's *left*" and "*right*" respectively; and that a canton, as the word is here used, is one of the four spaces into which a cross divides the area which it occupies. The four members of a cross will here be called the head, the base, the dexter arm, and the sinister arm: the head and the base together make the stem.

Besides the references to Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions* in the list, mention is also made of an "Enumeration of the Ancient Irish Monumental Stones at present existing at Clonmacnoise," published by the Rev. James Graves in the *Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal*, vol. iii, p. 294. Only forty slabs are included in this list, which was compiled from rubbings by Henry O'Neill. Careful

and accurate drawings of some of the cross-slabs are ingeniously introduced into the backgrounds of O'Neill's *High Crosses of Ireland*; and some of these are useful records of stones now lost. In a paper on Clonmacnois (*Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xli, pp. 79–95), Sir Samuel Ferguson enumerates eighteen of the names occurring on these monuments. Twenty-eight slabs, including two lost and not otherwise recorded, are to be found in vol. vi of Du Noyer's Archæological Drawings in the Royal Irish Academy's library.

I have to express my thanks to Mr. G. Coffey for information about, and rubbings of, the Clonmacnois stones under his care in the National Museum at Dublin. The Appendix, on the literary and architectural materials for a history of the monastery, has been added at the suggestion of Dr. Cochrane, President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, to whom I am indebted for much valuable help and advice.

It has not been thought necessary to give an index to the work: anything likely to be required can be found without difficulty by reference to the Table of Contents, the Vocabulary in pages 84–95 (which is a complete index of every word in the inscriptions), or the list of Plates at page xv.

R. A. S. M.

July, 1909.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION, ... v

LIST OF PLATES, ... xv

I. A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SLABS (1–207 *bis*), . 1

II. THE LOST SLABS (208–272), ... 41

III. THE SLABS AND CROSSES, ... 51

(Shape and Material of Slabs—Form of Crosses—Ornamental Treatment of Crosses—Extraneous Decoration, its subdivisions—Key-patterns—Spiral Patterns—Knot Patterns—Minor Details.)

IV. THE INSCRIPTIONS, ... 74

(Their Position relative to the Crosses—their Contents—Classification of Formulæ—Palæography—Philology.)

V. VOCABULARY OF WORDS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS, . . . 84

VI. HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS, . . . 96

(Possibility of Identification of Persons Commemorated—Inscriptions indicating Parentage—Comparison of the List of Abbots of Clonmacnois with the names on the Slabs—The Monument of Turcán.)

APPENDIX: MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF CLONMACNOIS, . 111

(Annals of the Monastery—The existing buildings—List of objects found at Clonmacnois.)

THE

INSCRIBED SLABS AT CLONMACNOIS

LIST OF PLATES

Frontispiece—Plan of the Cemetery at Clonmacnois

PLATE I

Inscriptions only

FIG.

1. A small fragment bearing part of the letters *im*.
   6 in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.
2. A small fragment bearing part of the letters *ta* . (?).
   $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 5 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.
3. A small fragment bearing the letters *do*.
   10 in. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
4. A small fragment bearing the letters *sc* (now missing).
5. Inscription, *Ferchomus*, in two lines.
   1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2 in.
6. Inscription, (*Or*) *do Mael*(*fit* ?)*rigg*, in two lines.
   10 in. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.
7. Inscription, *O*(*r do*) *G* . . ., in two lines.
   10 in. by 7 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.
8. Inscription, *Dichoem*.
   3 ft. by 1 foot 5 in.
9. Inscription, . . . *uid* . . .
   $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.
10. Inscription, *Maelmicheil*.
    4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.

PLATE II

Inscriptions only

FIG.

11. Inscription, *Or do Choind.*
    2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 7¾ in. by 2¾ in.

12. Inscription, *Daigrei.*
    2 ft. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2¾ in.

13. Inscription, *Oroit ar Thurcain lasandernad in chrossa*—"A prayer for Turcan, by whom this cross was made."
    2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 4 in.

14. Fragment of a Latin inscription in six lines.
    1 ft. 4 in. by 7¼ in. by 5½ in.

Inscriptions with Initial Crosses

15. Fragment with inscription in two lines—only + *Or . . . . Gr* remaining.
    1 foot ½ in. by 10½ in. by 1¾ in.

16. Fragment with × *Or . . . .* (missing).

17. Inscription in four lines, + *Or do Mael-Brendain.*
    1 foot 5 in. by 2 ft. by 2 in.

PLATE III

Inscriptions with Small Crosses

18. Inscription, + *or do Dubdach m*(*acc* ? . . . .).
    2 ft. 9 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4 in.

19. Greek cross, and the inscription, *Suédreagol.*
    1 foot 4 in. by 11½ in. by 2 in.

20. Small cross *fourchée*, and the inscription, *Or do Chondden.*
    2 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 4¾ in.

21. Slab with a small cross *pattée*, and the inscription, *Or do Cumsi.*
    1 foot 6½ in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 4 in.

22. Small Latin cross *pattée*, and the inscription *Or do Cormac Amen.*
    1 foot ½ in. by 10½ in. by 1¾ in.

23. Small Latin cross *pattée*, and the inscription, *Or do Dublitir.*
    2 ft. 11½ in. by 1 foot 11 in. by 4¾ in.

PLATE IV

Inscriptions associated with Latin Crosses

FIG.

24. Two small Latin crosses with underneath them the inscription, *Macliohain eps.*

5 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 4 in.

25. Latin cross *pattée*, with inscription, *Or do Finnachtu.*

2 ft. 5 in. by 1 foot 10 in by 3½ in.

26. Latin cross *fitchée*, with inscription, *Tets* . . . or *Tetg* . . .

2 ft. 2 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 3 in.

27. Cross with crescentic ends, and the letter *n* (the remains of *Collán*, according to a drawing by Petrie). A small fragment only.

11½ in. by 6 in. by 1½ in.

28. Peculiar Latin cross, double-line vertical stem, single-line horizontal arms. No inscription.

1 foot 3 in. by 1 foot by 2 in.

29. Cross *fitchée*, with triquetra in base, and spiral-ended corner-pieces. Inscription, *Moen* . . . . (Fractured.)

1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 4 in.

PLATE V

Latin and Greek Crosses

30. Plain Latin cross with invecked angles. Inscription, *Conassach.*

2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 3 in.

31. No inscription. Latin cross of unusual design, and very rude execution.

3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.

32. Fragment with part of a Greek cross potent covered with interlacing work. No. 161 is cut on the reverse face of this slab.

1 foot 7½ in. by 10½ in. by 3 in.

33. Headstone of a modern grave. A shaped slab bearing a plain Greek cross, open below. No inscription.

2 ft. 1½ in. above ground, by 1 foot 8 in. by 4½ in.

PLATE VI

Crosses in Square Panels

FIG.

34. Plain cross in a plain single-line margin.
1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2¾ in.

35. Similar cross with single-line squares in the cantons. Inscription, *Ge(?)r . . . n.*
1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 4 in.

36. Double-line cross in a single-line margin; a saltire at the centre.
2 ft. by 1 foot 1½ in. by 3½ in.

37. Cross with lozenge-shaped centre and triangular arm-ends inside Greek double-line cross contained in a single-line margin. Inscription, *Fina(n).*
1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 2½ in.

38. A cross similar to No. 35, but with the central cross-line reduced to a crosslet at the centre, and short strokes at the ends. Inscription, *Ailgal.*
1 foot 2 in. by 10 in. by 2¼ in.

39. Cross potent of double lines inside a single-line margin with external corner-pieces. Inscription, + *Rectnia.*
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 3½ in. by 2¾ in.

40. Greek cross inside a single-line margin, the cantons filled with rows of L's.
1 foot 10½ in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 3 in.

41. A cross similar to No. 39, with some features borrowed from No. 38. Inscription, *Arlia.*
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2¼ in.

42. Small fragment with corner of the margin of a panel. Inscription, *Sn . . . .*
9 in. by 5½ in. by 2 in.

43. A cross of four lines inside a marginal line of two lines; the centre surrounded by a circle of two lines. A lozenge containing a small annulet on the intersection of the cross. About half is broken away.
1 foot 1½ in. by 8 in. by 2½ in.

44. Angle of the margin of a panel with internal corner-pieces.
8 in. by 8¼ in. by 2¼ in.

45. Cross of four lines inside a two-line margin, a lozenge surrounding the centre. Small triangular cuttings on the arms of the cross. A little more than a quarter remains.
1 foot 1 in. by 9 in. by 3¾ in.

PLATE VII

Crosses in Square Panels

FIG.

46. A plain cross with square expanding ends inside a plain single-line margin. Inscription, *Cruithnechan.*
1 foot 7½ in. by 10½ in. [dimensions from rubbing].

47. A double-line cross with corner-pieces inside a double-line margin.
1 foot 3 in. by 1 foot by 3 in.

48. A slab with a cross identical in design with No. 47.
1 foot 4 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 3¾ in.

49. Cross potent quadrate bearing a crosslet *pattée* inside a square on the intersection, inside a single line-margin.
1 foot 1 in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 2¼ in.

50. Margin of four lines containing a cross of four lines, concentric circles interrupting every intersection. Inscription, + *Prescill.*
2 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 in.

51. Cross potent quadrate inside a three-line margin. Inscription, *Admoer ingen Duna . . .*
1 foot 10¼ in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 3 in.

52. Single-line cross with stepped corner-pieces and arm-ends inside a single-line margin with internal corner-pieces.
1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2 in.

53. Single-line cross with lozenge at centre, and triangular arm-ends, in single-line margin. Inscription, *Com . . . .*
1 foot 2 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 2½ in.

54. Small fragment, three-line cross with expanding arm-ends in a two-line margin. Inscription, *(Oroit) ar (Ma)el-Bri(te).*
9 in. by 5 in. by 1½ in.

55. Two-line Greek cross with invecked angles inside a single-line margin. Inscription, *Muirgalae.*
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 3¼ in.

PLATE VIII

Crosses in Square Panels

56. Two-line cross potent with invecked angles. At the centre a crosslet voided containing a pellet. Single-line margin. Inscription, ... *lethe ecc . . .*
2 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 2¼ in.

FIG.

57. Three-line cross potent with lozenge at the centre; single-line margin with square internal corner-pieces. Inscription, . . *soin* . .
1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 3½ in.

58. Four-line cross with circle round centre inside three-line margin. Inscription, *Gaescel* (missing).

59. Four-line cross with circle round centre, in three-line margin. Inscription, *Epscop Dathal.*
2 ft. by 2 ft. 3 in. by 1½ in.

60. A cross almost identical with No. 58. No inscription.
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 4 in.

61. Four-line cross with circle surrounding intersection, and bearing a crosslet *pattée,* inside a three-line margin. Inscription, *Blaimac.*
2 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 4 in.

PLATE IX

Crosses in Square Panels

62. Half of a three-line cross with a circle (enclosing pellets) surrounding the centre, inside a two-line margin.
1 foot ½ in. by 9 in. by 2 in.

63. Four-line cross with a circle at the centre, inside a two-line margin. Inscription, *Snedgus.*
1 foot 3½ in. by 1 foot 2½ in. by 3 in.

64. Four-line cross potent with invecked angles, circle round intersection, inside a three-line margin. Two fragments.
1 foot by 8¼ in. by 3 in.; and 1 foot 1 in. by 7½ in. by 3 in.

65. A cross of the same general type as some of preceding, but with a more elaborate margin. Inscription, *Arttri.*
2 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 3½ in.

66. Cross resembling No. 62, with corner-pieces added to the margin.
1 foot 2 in. by 1 foot by 2½ in.

67. Corner of a Greek fret margin, with . . . *acc.*
1 foot 3 in. by 10 in. by 2 in.

68. Cross with circle at the centre enclosed in a Greek fret. Inscription, . . . *ctcorc.*
2 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 3½ in.

69. A similar cross, with inscription, *Ma* . . . .
2 ft. 1 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 5 in.

70. A similar but more elaborate cross, with inscription, *Tuathgal.*
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 2½ in. by 2 in.

PLATE X

Crosses in Square and Round Panels

FIG.

71. Three-line cross with circle round centre in two-line margin. About half broken away. No inscription.
1 foot 4 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

72. Four-line cross, lozenge at centre surrounded by circle, two-line margin. No inscription.
1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 3 in.

73. Double-line cross with invecked angles in double-line margin. Inscription, *Badbfen* (?).
1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4 in.

74. Cross in a circle, nearly all broken away. Inscription, + *Pú* . . . .
1 foot 6 in. by 11 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

75. Plain cross of two lines in a circle. Inscription, *Ruadri.*
1 foot 8 in. by 1 foot 2 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

76. Cross formed of four arcs of circles in a double-line circular margin. Small crosses outside the margin. Probably an altar-slab.
1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in.

77. Cross *pattée* in a circle. Inscription in four lines below, *Or̄ do Muirethach.*
3 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 foot 6 in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.

78. Cross quadrate in a circle. Inscription, *Laticen*, preserved by Petrie. Now all gone but part of the *L.*
1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 11 in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.

79. Cross with expanding ends in a circle. Inscription, *Marcus.*
2 ft. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2 in.

80. Fragment with two curved lines, similar to No. 74.
$7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 6 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

PLATE XI

Crosses in Circular Panels

81. A very fine device of interlacing work enclosed in a circle of key-pattern fret. Inscription, *Or̄ ar Fiachraich.*
3 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 9 in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

82. A circle containing a diaper of leaves forming hexagons.
1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 foot 2 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

FIG.

83. Cross quadrate potent inside a circle covered with elaborate interlacement. About two-thirds missing.
1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2½ in.

84. A cross with a circle, crossleted, the crosslets also within circles. Probably an altar-slab.
1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2½ in.

PLATE XII

Celtic Crosses

85. Cross quadrate, the arms joined by a circle. Inscription, *Anhoc.*
2 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. by 3½ in.

86. Cross quadrate, the arms joined by a circle. Inscription, *Ōr ar Findan.* The whole contained in a fret.
1 foot 10 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 3¼ in.

87. Lower end of a Celtic cross.
1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2 in.

88. Celtic cross, with above, the inscription, *Ronain.*
3 ft. by 2 ft. 4½ in. by 4 in.

89. Celtic cross, with inscription, *Muirechtach.*
2 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 9½ in. by 4½.

90. Head of a Celtic cross, with inscription, *Ot do . . . .*
9 in. by 6 in. by 4½ in.

PLATE XIII

Celtic Crosses

91. Celtic cross with loops at the angles. Inscription, *Ōr do Brotur.*
2 ft. 8½ in. by 2 in.; 1 foot 2 in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2 in.

92. Celtic cross with loops at the angles. Inscription, *Ōr ar Mael-Quiarāin.*
2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 3¼ in. by 2½ in.

93. Celtic cross terminating below in spirals. Inscription, *Oroit (a)r Ferdamnach.*
3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.

PLATE XIV

Celtic Crosses

94. Celtic cross. Inscription, *Ōr do Angus.*
2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. by 4½ in.

FIG.

95. Celtic cross with looped arm-ends and inscription, reading apparently, *Tanaidén.*
2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 2¾ in.

96. Celtic cross with pointed foot terminating in an oval expansion. Inscription, *Or do S(iu)rgal.*
3 ft. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.

PLATE XV

Celtic Cross

97. Celtic cross formed of a double margin of rope-work; in the base, which is pointed, a triquetra. Inscription, *Or du Etich.*
5 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 2 in. by 3 in.

PLATE XVI

Celtic Crosses

98. Celtic cross terminating in spirals below. Inscription in one line above, apparently *N*(?) . . . *domna.*
3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 3 in.

99. Celtic cross of very peculiar type with small loops at the angles; much injured, and very difficult to make out. Inscription also hard to decipher; it appears to read *Or do Ain(g)el.*
2 ft. 7 in. by 1 foot 6½ in. by 1½ in.

100. Celtic cross, arms not expanding. Inscription, *Cu(o?)* . . .
1 foot 8½ in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2¼ in.

101. Celtic cross, the arms expanding into triangles with loops at the corners. Inscription, *Or do Mael(-Pa)tric.*
2 ft. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2½ in.

102. Celtic cross, the ends divergent and spiral. Inscription, *Or̄ do Thuathal.*
2 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. by 2¼ in.

PLATE XVII

Celtic Crosses

103. A fine Celtic cross, covered with key-pattern, the head terminating in two spirals. Much worn, and difficult to make out. No inscription.
4 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. by 5 in.

104. Celtic cross with loops at the terminations. Inscription, *Or d(o) Maichte(ch).*
1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2¼ in.

FIG.

105. Top of a plain Celtic cross with inscription, *Aod . . .* (?).
1 foot 4½ in. by 9 in. by 4 in.

106. A fragment possibly bearing part of a Celtic cross.
8 in. by 4¼ in. by 1⅞ in.

107. Fragment with the top of a Celtic cross, and the inscription, *Or do Uada.*
1 foot 1½ in. by 8 in. by 5 in.

108. Celtic cross *fitchée*, with the inscription, *Or ar Chuindless.*
2 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 10⅞ in. by 6 in.

PLATE XVIII

Celtic Crosses

109. Celtic cross, bottom broken. Inscription, *Aed.*
2 ft. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2½ in.

110. Celtic cross resembling No. 104. Inscription, *Dubinse.*
2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 2½ in.

111. Fragment, being a curious modification of the Celtic cross, with the portion contained by the circle omitted, and the circle made lozenge-shaped.
11 in. by 10 in. by 1¾ in.

112. Celtic cross *fitchée*, with notches on the three upper terminations. Inscription, *Mael-Tuili.*
3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. ½ in. by 1½ in.

113. Extreme top of a Celtic cross, with the inscription, *(Oroi)t ar Ann . . . .*
11½ in. by 7 in. by 1¾ in.

114. Celtic cross terminating below in spirals. Inscription, *Ot ar Huidrine.*
2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2 in.

115. Cross identical with the preceding. No inscription.
1 ft. 11½ in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2¼ in.

116. A similar cross to the preceding, but of larger scale, and broken below. Inscription, *Or do Cellach.*
1 foot 9 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 4 in.

PLATE XIX

Celtic Crosses with Greek Fret Borders

117. Quadrate Celtic cross terminating below in spirals enclosing a simple knot. Inscription, *Oroit ar Maela . . .*
2 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4¼ in.

FIG.

118. Quadrate Celtic cross with a peculiar base resembling in style that on No. 96. Less than half remains.
2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2¼ in.

119. A slab with a Celtic cross, and the inscription, *Oroit ar Mael-Ciarain*. This has suffered mutilation since 1898, the corner bearing the last surviving fragment of the Greek fret having disappeared.
1 foot 3 in. by 10 in. by 2 in.

120. A fragment of a richly ornamented Celtic cross inside a Greek fret. Petrie gives the inscription, *Ōroit ar Liat . . .* as remaining in 1822.
1 foot 4 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2½ in.

121. Small fragment of the top of a Celtic cross, which Petrie found perfect. The arms were plain, the stem ends looped. Inscription, (*Ōr do*) *Boi(ss)e*.
9½ in. by 1 foot 5¼ in. by 2¾ in.

PLATE XX

Modifications of Celtic Crosses

122. Celtic cross of unusual pattern, with a circular centre. Inscription, *Eudus Mael-Oinae*.
1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2½ in.

123. Bottom of a large cross terminating below in double spirals. The sinister half alone remains, the dexter half having recently disappeared.
1 foot by 1 foot 1 in. by 4 in.

124. Central portion of a Celtic cross bearing a triskelion.
1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot ½ in. by 4 in.

125. Cross with a circle, the intersection inside the circle suppressed, as in No. 111. Inscription, *Or do Huaean*.
3 ft. 9½ in. by 2 ft. by 5 in.

126. End of a plain cross arm with semicircular expansion, and inscription, (*Tip*)*rai*(*t . . .*) *Annseni*.
1 foot 7 in. by 1 ft. 5½ in. by 3¾ in.

127. Arm of a small cross with expanding end.
6½ in. by 6¾ in. by 1½ in.

128. Cross with plain central and terminal expansions. Inscription, (*Or*) *do Fogartach m̄ Bróenáin*. Two crosses *fourchées* have been cut afterwards, apparently to turn the slab into an altar-stone.
1 foot 9½ in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2 in.

FIG.

129. Small fragment of a similar cross with one letter (*d* or *p*) remaining.
1 foot 3 in. by 5½ in. by 2 in.

130. Small fragment with the central portion of similar cross.
1 foot by 9¼ in. by 1½ in.

131. Arm of a similar cross with inscription, *Or̄ do Murethach.*
1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 1½ in. by 3 in.

PLATE XXI

Crosses with Central and Terminal Expansions

132. Arm or stem of a similar cross with inscription, *Marthine.*
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 3 in.

133. Equilateral cross with circular expansions. Inscription, *Or̄ do Cholumbán.*
2 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.

134. Small fragment of the side of a similar cross. Inscription, (*Fer*?)*dam*(*nach*?).
1 foot 1¼ in. by 9½ in. by 1½ in.

135. Similar cross to No. 128, but with the five expansions voided. Inscription, *Or̄ do Mael-Phet*(*ir*).
1 foot 10½ in. by 1 foot 3½ in. by 5¼ in.

136. Similar cross to No. 135, but with a crosslet in the central expansion. Inscription, *Or̄ do Mártanán.*
2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4 in.

137. A cross with a circular central expansion, containing a key-pattern and blank semicircular terminals. Inscription, (*Or̄ do Mael*)-*Phát*(*raic*).
1 foot 6½ in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 1½ in.

138. Stem and part of the centre of a seven-line cross. Inscription, . . . *c*(?)*la* . . . .
1 foot 1 in. by 1 foot by 2 in.

139. Fragment of a three-line cross, one arm-end containing a curious compromise between voiding and the key-pattern. Inscription, *Or̄ do Du* . . . .
1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 2 in. by 1¼ in.

140. Three-line cross with circular expansions, containing key-patterns. Inscription, *Or̄ do Mail-Tem̄.*
2 ft. 10 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2½ in.

PLATE XXII

Crosses with Central and Terminal Expansions

FIG.

141. A cross of similar type to the preceding. Inscription, + *Or̄ do Fechtnach.*
2 ft. 2 in. by 10¼ in. by 5 in.

142. A cross like the preceding but larger, and with the same inscription, (*Or̄ do*) *Fechtnach.*
3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 in.

143. A five-line cross with circular central expansion, containing a knot and blank terminal expansions. No inscription (now missing).

144. Fragment of a three-line cross of the same type as the last. Inscription, *Or do T . . .*
1 foot 1¾ in. by 1 foot 6½ in. by 2½ in.

PLATE XXIII

Crosses with Central and Terminal Expansions

145. A similar cross with knot-work in all the expansions. Inscription, *Or̄ dō Odrán háu Eolais.*
3 ft. 8 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2¾ in.

146. Lower half of a slab with a fine cross of similar type to the last, covered with knot-work all over. Inscription, (*Oroi*)*t ar* (?) . . . *llachain* (now missing).

147. Seven-line cross of the same shape, with key-pattern in the upper terminal, and knots in the centre and sides. The base broken off. Inscription, *Or̄ do Guariu.*
2 ft. 3 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 4 in.

148. Three-line cross, triskelion in centre, terminals voided. Inscription, *Or̄ do Dubinrecht.*
3 ft. by 1 foot 8½ in. by 4 in.

PLATE XXIV

Crosses with Central and Terminal Expansions

149. Three-line cross, triskelion in centre, terminals blank. Inscription, *Or̄ do Flannchad.*
3 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 4½ in.

150. Identical cross to last. Inscription, *Or̄ do Bonuit.*
3 ft. 2 in. by 1 foot 11 in. by 3 in.

FIG.

151. Upper part of an identical cross. No inscription.
1 foot $\frac{1}{8}$ in. by 1 foot 7 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

152. Identical cross. Inscription, *Or̄ do Chunn.*
2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. by 2 in.

153. A peculiar variation on the type of the preceding crosses. Inscription, *(Ma)el-Chiaran.*
1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

PLATE XXV

Crosses with Central and Terminal Expansions

154. A similar cross, with triskelion in the centre, and key-pattern in the terminals. Inscriptions, *Or̄ do Mael-Maire.*
2 ft. 7 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

155. Similar cross, tetraskelion in centre, key-pattern in terminals. No inscription.
2 ft. 11 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.

156. Upper part of a splendid seven-line cross, with divergent spiral pattern in the centre, and key-patterns in the terminals. Inscription, *(Mael)-Tui(le).*
2 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. by 6 in.

157. A similar cross to the last, perfect, and with an inscription apparently reading *Or̄ do Th(ua)t(h)all.*
3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 2 in.

158. Small fragment of an eight-line cross.
$5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.

PLATE XXVI

Crosses with Central and Terminal Expansions

159. Cross pattée in circle. Inscription in cantons, *Malec.*
1 foot $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 10 in.

160. Fragment of the centre and one arm of a three-line cross.
$11\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

161. Fragment of a three-line cross, with blank centre and triangular terminals.
On the reverse of 32.

162. Cross of the same shape as the last, with knots in the expansions. Inscription *(Or̄ do Ma)el-Fin(ni)a.*
1 foot 11 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 2 in.

FIG.

163. Cross with lozenge-shaped central expansion, containing a knot and semicircular blank terminals. Inscription, *Or̄ Comgan.*
3 ft. 3 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 4½ in.

164. Cross with circular centre containing a knot, basal terminal square, the others semicircular, all four blank.
2 ft. 7½ in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 4½ in.

165. Cross *pommée* with lozenge-shaped central expansion. Inscription, *(Ma)il-Sen(ch)aill.*
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 1½ in.

166. Fragment with a cross similar to the last, but with a large circular central expansion. Inscription, *Gorm . . .*
11 in. by 1 foot by 2½ in.

PLATE XXVII

Crosses with Central and Looped Terminal Expansions

167. Small fragment of a blank terminal expansion of a four-line cross.
6¼ in. by 8 in. by 3 in.

168. Cross formed of an interlacing band, and the inscription, *Or̄ do Dainéil.*
3 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 3¾ in.

169. Latin cross with expanding centre and arms inside a panel. Inscription, *Armeda.*
1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 1¾ in. by 4 in.

170. Fragment with two looped terminals, and the letter *O.*
1 foot 3 in. by 8 in. by 1¾ in.

171. Fragment of a seven-line cross with blank looped terminals, and the inscription, *(Or d)o Euchaig . . . Magdarnac.*
1 foot 11 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2¾ in.

172. Head and part of dexter terminal of a seven-line cross with key-pattern in the expansions.
1 foot 4 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. by 1¾ in.

173. Fragment with an arm-end, containing a key-pattern, and the letters *. . . a . . . . ac.*
10½ in. by 9 in. by 2 in.

174. Fragment with base of a five-line cross with looped terminal, containing a key-pattern, and the inscription, *(Or do h) Uar . . . . p.*
2 ft. 1 in. by 1 foot by 4 in. .

FIG.

175. A small fragment bearing a looped terminal with key-pattern.
10½ in. by 9 in. by 2 in.

176. A small fragment bearing the letters *echt.*
5¾ in. by 3½ in.

177. Small fragment with part of a looped terminal, containing a key-pattern.
10½ in. by 18 in. by 2¾ in.

178. Small fragment with part of a five-line arm with looped terminal, containing a key-pattern, and the letters *bai.*
1 foot by 10 in. by 4 in.

179. Five-line cross with circular expansion, containing a triskelion and looped terminals, containing key-pattern. Inscription, *Or̄ do Mael-Chiaran.*
2 ft. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2 in.

PLATE XXVIII

Crosses with Central and Looped Terminal Expansions

180. Three-line cross, basal terminal blank, other expansions containing key-pattern. Inscription, *Or̄ do Uallaig.*
2 ft. 5 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2 in.

181. Seven-line cross with corner of two terminals, and inscription, . . . *o Beác.*
1 foot 4 in. by 10½ in. by 3 in.

182. Fragment bearing a looped terminal with key-pattern.
1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2½ in.

183. Fragment bearing part of a cross with key-pattern, the terminals, and the letters . . . *macc.*
1 foot 7¼ in. by 10 in. by 2½ in.

184. Fragment bearing looped terminal with key-pattern, inside a two-line panel. Inscription, ... *c* (?) . . . *em.*
2 ft. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2½ in.

185. Fragment bearing a looped terminal with the key-pattern, and the letters . . . . *laig.*
1 foot 4½ in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 2½ in.

186. Small fragment of the stem and terminal of a cross (missing).

187. Fragment with three-quarters of a cross of the type under discussion, having key-pattern in the expansions. Inscription, *Or̄ d* . . . .
2 ft. 9 in. by 1 foot by 5½ in.

FIG.

188. Cross with the usual expansions, a divergent spiral in the centre, and key-patterns in the terminals. Inscription, *Or̄ d(o Cho) . . . . ui Gor(main).*
2 ft. ½ in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 2½ in.

189. Cross with a spiral pattern in the centre, a knot in the head, and a key-pattern in the other terminals. The inscription is *Or̄ do M(a)el-Brigte.*
2 ft. 8½ in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 4½ in.
Second fragment, 11 in. by 8 in. by 4½ in.

PLATE XXIX

Crosses with Central and Looped Terminal Expansions

190. Cross with triskelion in the centre, and key-pattern in the terminals. A peculiar circular diaper beneath the cross, much injured. Inscription, *Or̄ do Gilla-Christ.*
3 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot by 3 in.

191. A cross identical with the last. Inscription, *Or̄ do Mael-Mhichil.*
3 ft. by 1 foot 10 in. by 4¼ in.

192. A cross similar to the last, though differing in the details of the ornament. Inscription, *Or̄ ar Gilla-Giarain.*
1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 2 in. by 7 in.

193. Cross with tetrahelion in the centre, blank terminals. Inscription, *Or̄ do Mael-Finnia.*
3 ft. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2½ in.

194. A cross similar to the last, but with key-patterns in the terminals. No inscription.
3 ft. 7½ in. by 2 ft. by 3 in.

PLATE XXX

Miscellaneous Crosses

195. A cross resembling No. 191, with four worms in the cantons, enclosing the inscription, *Or̄do Chobthac.*
2 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 5 in by 3 in.

196. A cross resembling the last, tetraskelion in centre. Inscription, *. . . . do . . .*
On the reverse of 126.

197. A large cross with loops on the sides of the expansions. Devices in the expansions indecipherable. Inscription, *Oroit . . . .*
2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 3 in.

FIG.

198. Slab with a square, the ends prolonged to form crosses which are enclosed in circles. Probably an altar-slab.
1 foot 10½ in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 1½ in.

199. Altar-slab with five crosses.
1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 2 in.

200. Slab with two deep grooves cut upon it.
8 in. by 5 in. by 2 in.

201. Fragment with a single straight line drawn across it.
10½ in. by 7½ in. by 2 in.

202. Fragment of a cross in a panel, with the inscription, . . . *lith.*
1 foot by 10 in. by 1¾ in.

203. Fragment with two lines, and the inscription, . . *in* . .
9¾ in. by 5½ in. by 2¾ in.

PLATE XXXI

Late Slabs

204. Latin cross in panel, with rosette in centre, floriated below. Inscription, *Or do C . . . cen* (?) *Mael-Roin hu Lorgan.*
5 ft. 1 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2½ in.

205. Quadrate cross potent in a panel. Very faint traces of *C . . . m* in one panel.
3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. ½ in. by 4 in.

206. Panelled cross on a calvary bearing a crosslet. Small fragment of the base.
1 foot 9 in. by 11 in. by 3½ in.

207. Base of a highly decorated panelled cross on a calvary (now missing).

PLATE XXXII

207 *bis.* Slab with fragment of a cross, and the inscription, *O*[*r . . .*] *Gal . . .*
1 foot 4 in. long.

PLATE XXXIII—The Cathedral: Dean Odo's doorway.

,, XXXIV—Teampull Righ: east window.

,, XXXV—Teampull Finghin: plan and elevation of chancel-arch and tower.

,, XXXV*a*—Finghin and Round Tower.

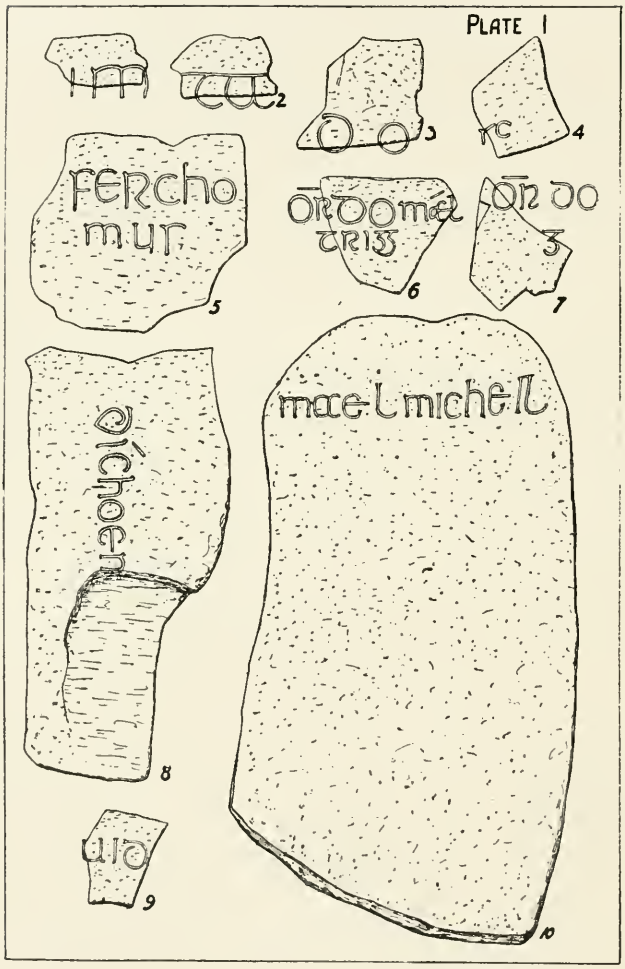
,, XXXVI—The Nuns' Church: plan.

,, XXXVII— ,, ,, chancel-arch.

,, XXXVIII— ,, ,, west door.

,, XXXIX—The Cross of King Flann.

,, XL—The Crozier of St. Ciaran.



FIGS. 1–10

I.—A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SLABS.

The following is a description of the remaining slabs, accompanying and elucidating the plates. The measurements were taken at my third visit; I cannot therefore give the exact dimensions of those which were then no longer to be seen. Reference is added to Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* when the slab under description is included in that collection, and the principal differences between Petrie's drawing and mine are indicated. This, let me explain, is not done with the least intention of cavilling at the older work, which (considering that it was prepared when Clonmacnois was even less accessible than it is now) is a fine monument of enthusiasm and learning; but it is to show that these points were in my mind when I examined the original slab, and that I satisfied myself on the spot that my own rendering of the design was to be preferred. It will also be obvious to the careful student of Petrie's work, that certain of the blemishes to which I am obliged to draw attention are not to be attributed to him, but to some of the other hands concerned in collecting materials for the publication. The illustrations in the plates are all to a scale of $\frac{1}{10}$ linear.

Plate I.

1. (6 in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.) A small fragment bearing parts of the letters ıᚑıı. It cannot be identified with any slab in Petrie.

2. ($8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 5 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) A small fragment bearing parts of two letters (apparently ᚭᚪ) linked together at the tops. This may be part of ᚑᚂᚑᚄ ᚃᚏ ("a prayer for . . ."). It does not appear in Petrie, unless it be the upper sinister corner of his No. 21.[1] This, however, is very doubtful.

3. (10 in. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) A fragment bearing the letters ᚩᚩ ("for"). I cannot find it in Petrie; it might be part of his No. 52 (δ in chap. ii).

[1] See β in list of lost slabs in chap. ii.

4. A small fragment with ſC, evidently the end of a line. Not in Petrie. I failed to find this fragment at my last visit.

5. (1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2 in.) A slab bearing the name ꝑERCHOMUſ in two lines. No cross. Petrie, No. 8.

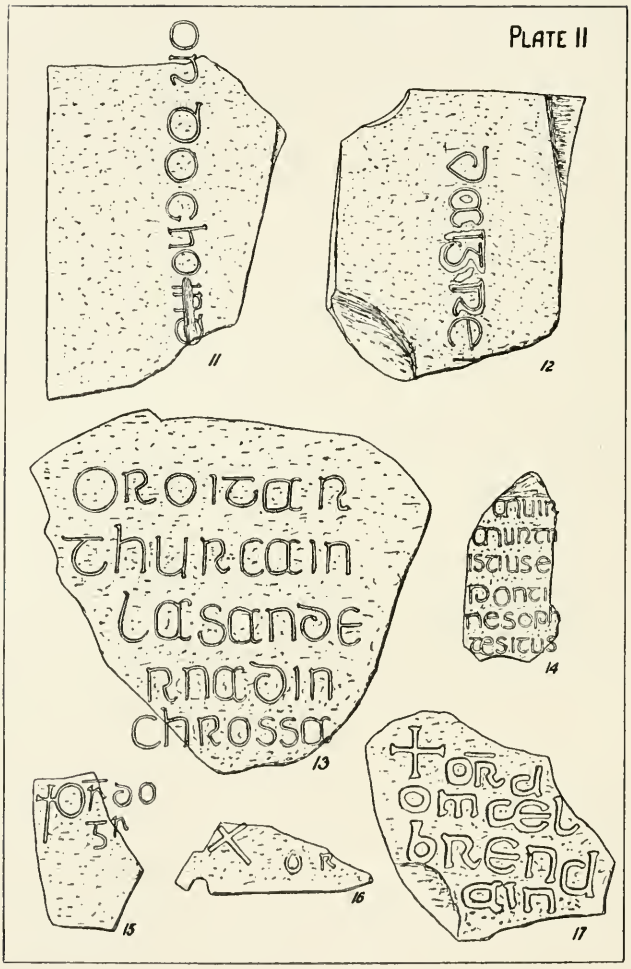
6. (10 in. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.) A broken slab bearing a mutilated inscription in two lines. I venture to suggest the restoration—[OR̄] ꝺO MáeL[ꝑI(?)ꞇ]RIꝵꝵ, "A prayer for Mael-Fithrigh." This slab is Petrie's No. 93, where some differences in the rendering of the letters will be noticed, as well as the omission of the accent over the Á. Petrie, or his editor, Miss Stokes, restores the name MAELCIRIꝵꝵ, which is inadmissible; the tip of a letter inconsistent with an I appears on the edge of the fracture before the R. Notice in this inscription the ligatures in MAEL and in the double ꝵ, and the unusual mark of length.

7. (10 in. by 7 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.) A fragment with parts of the first letters of two lines, O̅[R̄ ꝺO] ꝵ[. . . .]. Not in Petrie.

8. (3 ft. by 1 foot 5 in.) A large slab, inscribed ꝺíCHOEM, the last letter injured by a flake broken from the surface of the stone. Petrie, No. 167.

9. ($8\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.) Small fragment with MꝺO, and some indefinite traces on the lower edge. This sequence of letters does not appear in any inscription recorded by Petrie; the nearest guess I can make is that it may be a fragment of the top of his No. 66 (ε in chap. ii).

10. (4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.) One of the largest slabs now remaining at Clonmacnois. I found it doing duty as a headstone, buried almost to the top, and had it rooted up and transported to one of the chapels where the slabs are stored. The inscription is MAELMICHEL (Petrie, No. 159; Graves, No. 35). In Petrie's *description*, the two small crosses on the similar MAELIOHAM stone (No. 24 in the present collection) are, by a curious slip, transferred to this monument. The *drawings*, however, are correct.



FIGS. 11–17

PLATE II.

11. (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.) Inscription [O]R DO CHOIMD, "A prayer for Conn." Not in Petrie. The last three letters are injured by a flaw in the stone.

12. (2 ft. by 1 foot 9 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.) Inscription DAIGRE1, much injured by flaking round the edges of the letters. The stone seems to have suffered since 1822, when Petrie drew it (it is his No. 145); he does not show the fractured edge so near the concluding 1, and does not indicate the flakes alluded to.

13. (2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 4 in.) This fine slab I found lying loose on the causeway leading to the Nuns' Church, and I directed the caretaker to bring it into one of the chapels, where I left it. The lettering is much clogged with lichen, which makes it difficult to secure a good rubbing; but the inscription is easily decipherable—OROIT AR THURCAIN LASANDERNAD IN[C]HROSSA, "A prayer for Turcan, by whom this cross was made." Petrie, No 153; Graves, No. 33.

14. (1 foot 4 in. by $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.) This fragment is especially interesting, as it is the only piece of Latin found on any of the slabs at Clonmacnois. It seems to have been a dedicatory or historical rather than a monumental inscription, if we may judge from the meagre section which alone survives. The edge has been cut and trimmed smooth on both sides; so that the stone was one of a row of building-stones across which the inscription was cut when in position, or else is a fragment of a slab which has been cut up into building-stones without regard to the inscription it bore. The former seems to me the more probable suggestion. It appears as though we had the beginnings of the lines. The remaining letters, with some suggestions that might be made for filling the blanks, are as follows:—

MUNR*certach filius* (?) . . . .
MUNTH . . . . . .
ISTIUS *ecclesiae* . . . . . .
PONTI*fice* . . . . . .
NE SOPH . . . . . .
TESITUS . . . . . .

Not in Petrie.

15. (1 foot ⅛ in. by 10⅛ in. by 1¾ in.) This is the first slab we met with bearing a cross. It is a plain Latin cross, *pattée fitchée*; the sinister arm runs into the initial letter of the inscription. This is in two lines; only OR . . . ꝺR . . . remains. On my last visit I found that a few inches had been broken away from the bottom of this stone, fortunately without injuring the inscription; the above are its present dimensions. Not in Petrie.

16. A plain cross and the letters OR. I am a little doubtful about the accuracy of this drawing, the rubbing not having been very good. As I failed to find the fragment on my last visit, I was unable to verify it. It is not to be identified with anything in Petrie.

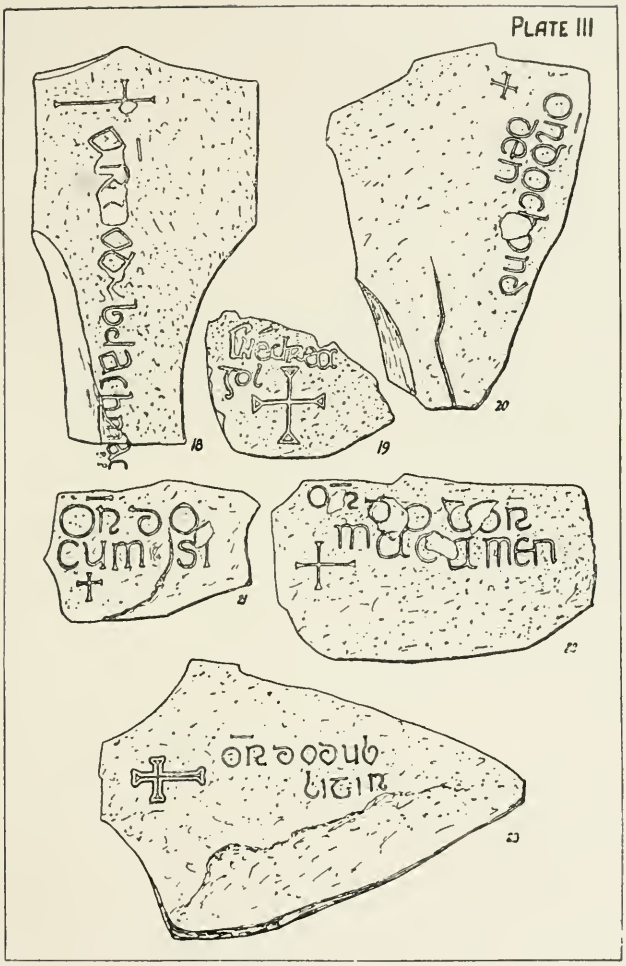
17. (1 foot 5 in. by 2 ft. by 2 in.) This inscription I found almost buried at the head of a grave, and had it brought with the rest into the chapel. It is in four lines preceded by a cross *pattée*. The lettering is broad, shallow, and rather worn, and it requires careful scrutinising to make sure of the accuracy of a copy. It reads +ORꝺ ꝺO MAEL ꝺRENꝺAIN, "A prayer for Mael-Brendain." Not in Petrie.

Plate III.

18. (2 ft. 9 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4 in.) Inscription preceded by a graceful Latin cross *fourchée*; it is much scaled, but is quite legible—+ ORꝺ ꝺO ꝺUBꝺACH, followed by a mark that looks like the corner of an M. This might be the initial of MACC preceding a lost patronymic; if so, the stone when complete must have been unusually long. Not in Petrie.

19. (1 foot 4 in. by 11½ in. by 2 in.) A Greek cross with triangular ends. Above, the inscription ꝰNÉꝺREAꝴOL in two lines. Not in Petrie.

20. (2 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 4¾ in.) An irregular slab bearing a small cross *fourchée*, and in two lines the inscription ORꝺ ꝺO CHONꝺOEN. It is slightly injured by a flake, but is quite legible. This is Petrie's No. 169; Petrie reads the name CHONOꝺEN, but that the fifth letter of the name is ꝺ cannot be



FIGS. 18–23

FIGS. 24–29

doubted; the shape of the stone in Petrie's sketch must have been drawn in from memory. Graves (No. 4) makes CLONDOEN.

21. (1 foot 6½ in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 4 in.) A slab bearing a small Latin cross *pattée*, above which is the inscription OR DO CUMSI in two lines. There is a wide gap between the M and S of the name; evidently to avoid a roughness, and the edge of an old flake in the surface of the stone. The last letter is injured by a flake, but it is unquestionably an I, and certainly is the terminal letter of the name; Petrie's hypothesis that the name is *Cumsad* is quite inadmissible. His representation of the letters (see Petrie, No. 54) is not exactly correct.

22. (1 foot ½ in. by 10½ in. by 1¾ in.) A Latin cross *pattée*, lying on its side, and above it in two lines the inscription OR DO CORMAC AMEN. It is much scaled, and requires considerable patience to decipher, but there is no doubt of this reading. It is the only example of the use of the word *Amen* in the whole series. This is evidently Petrie's No. 49, but he has read the inscription *Or do Bran u Caillen*. Graves's No. 36 is read *Maelthine*: this seems to be an attempt at reading the second line of the inscription, probably from a bad rubbing.

23. (2 ft. 11½ in. by 1 foot 11 in. by 4¾ in.) A triangular-shaped slab, bearing a very delicately incised Latin cross *pattée*, enclosed in a marginal line, and in two lines the inscription OR DO DUBLITIR. This slab is a model of neat and careful engraving. The lozenge shown by Petrie at the centre of the cross (No. 53) should be deleted. Graves, No. 8.

Plate IV.

24. (5 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 4 in.) This is the largest slab but one at Clonmacnois. It resembles the stone of Mael-Micheil, No. 10, in being a large gravestone, with the name in a single horizontal line near the top. The two small crosses above it, however, form a unique feature. The inscription is MAELIOHAIN EPS, "Mael-Iohain (Malone) the Bishop"—one of the few in which a descriptive epithet is added to the name. One other Bishop's monument survives at Clonmacnois, that of Dathal,

No. 59. This stone is given by Petrie (No. 160); the small crosses are there shown voided, which is incorrect. Graves, No. 23; Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 92.

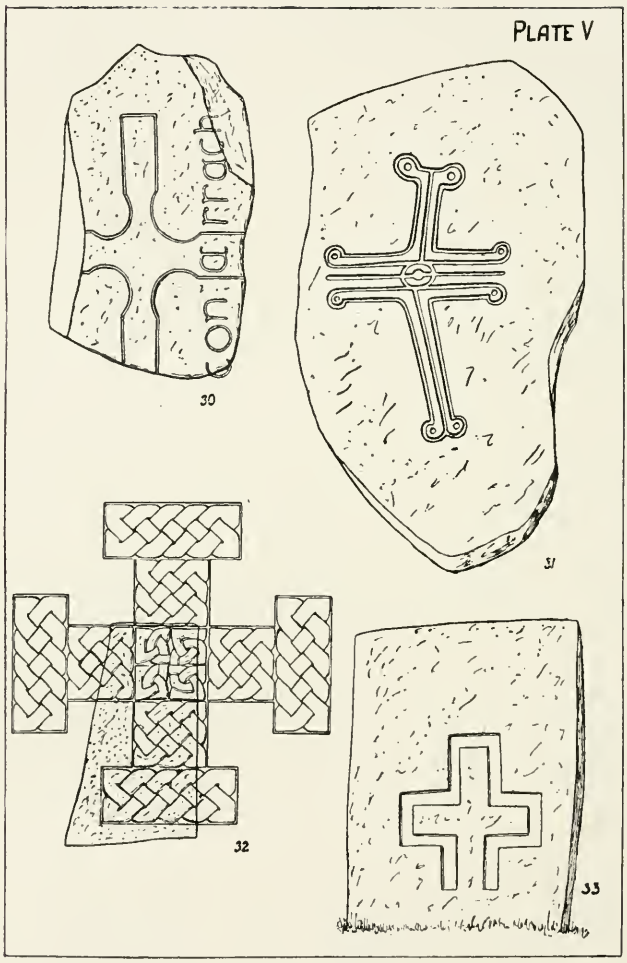
25. (2 ft. 5 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 3½ in.) A Latin cross *pattée*, dividing the inscription into two lines. We now see the cross beginning to assume importance on the stone. The inscription is ꝺR ꝺO ꝑMMACHTU. Like the stone of Dublitir (No. 23), this is a beautiful example of engraving. The latter stone was probably in Dr. Petrie's mind when he drew a marginal line round the cross, which has no existence on the slab (No. 45). Graves, No. 12.

26. (2 ft. 2 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 3 in.) A plain Latin cross *fitchée*. Above the remains of an inscription commencing TETS . . or TETꝫ . . There were about three more letters, now spalled away. Petrie, No. 59; his suggested restoration *Tetghal* is not improbable.

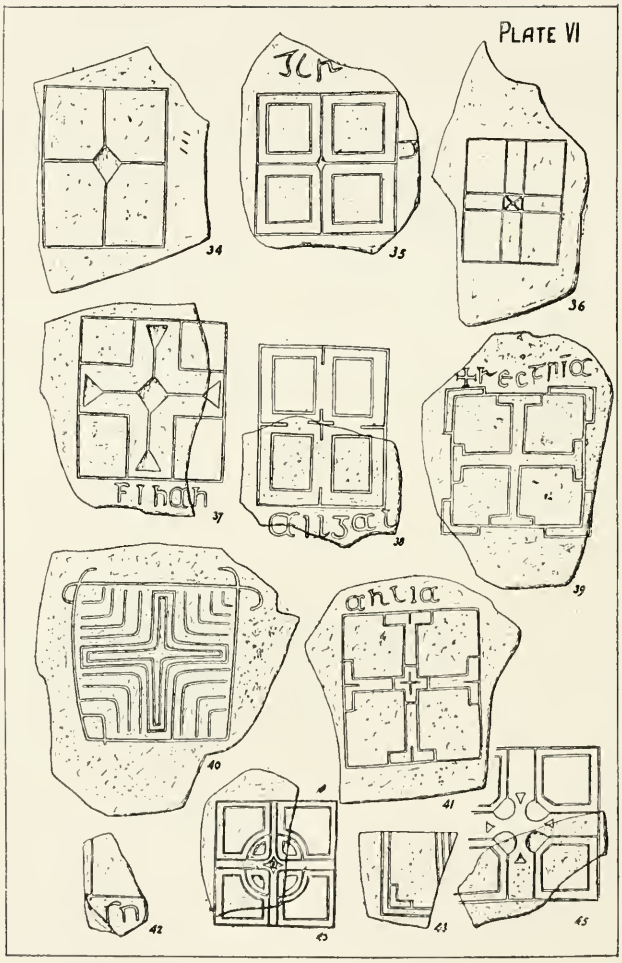
27. (11½ in. by 6 in. by 1½ in.) Fragment of a cross with crescent-shaped forked ends; above, the letter N. This is evidently the surviving fragment of a slab which Petrie found almost complete, and represented in his fig. 43. Dr. Todd also found it in 1847. The now missing portion has completely disappeared. The inscription, as preserved by Petrie, was COLLÁN, the existing N being the last letter.

28. (1 foot 3 in. by 1 foot by 2 in.) A very peculiar Latin cross, the stem composed of a double line with horizontal strokes at top and bottom, the arms single lines, *pattée* at the ends. As there is no inscription, this slab is not noticed in Petrie.

29. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 4 in.) Base of a cross *fitchée*, with a triquetra in the point. There seem to have been corner-pieces in the cantons, the lower spiral ends of which remain; there is nothing parallel to this elsewhere in the Clonmacnois series. The stone was in the same broken condition as now when Petrie saw it; his drawing (No. 92) is a very good representation. Inscription MOEN . . . .



Figs. 30–33



Figs. 34–45

PLATE V.

30. (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 3 in.) A plain Latin cross, invecked at the angles. Inscription, CONAITACH, reading upwards, on the sinister side. Petrie, No 22. Graves, No. 5.

31. (3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.) This slab I found more than half buried in the earth, and caused it to be uprooted and carried to the chapel with the rest. It bears no inscription so far as can be seen; the surface is almost concealed with thick and closely clinging lichen, which might easily obscure faint lettering were there any on the stone. For the same reason the very remarkable cross is not easily drawn. It is a singularly rude piece of work, the head and base meeting at an angle. The design of the cross can best be understood, without description, by a glance at the plate.

32. (1 foot 7½ in. by 10½ in. by 3 in.) Enough of this slab remains to restore a Greek cross potent, covered with interlacing work of a simple but effective character. It is not probable that the lost arms differed in design from the arm which survives. This stone has twice been used as a memorial; a second cross (fig. 161 in this series) being cut on the reverse face.

33. (1 foot 8 in. by 4½ in. thick.) A large stone buried partly in the earth, standing 2 ft. 1½ in. above ground, but evidently set rather deep. I left instructions that it should be deposited with the other crosses. It bears no inscription, but a plain Greek cross formed of a single broad, shallow line tracing out its margin. The omission of the bottom line of the base is curious. There is no inscription. The slab, being shaped, is probably of later date than the majority of the memorials.

PLATE VI.

34. (1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2¾ in.) This is the first of the important series of crosses in square panels, which occupies this and the four following plates. The present example is the simplest possible, consisting merely of a cross of two lines—the intersection widened into a lozenge—with a single marginal line

defining the square. This may be said to set the motive on which the other crosses of the series are variations. The number and range of the variations are very remarkable. There are three short strokes on the sinister side that look not unlike the relics of an inscription, but I believe them purely accidental.

35. (1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 4 in.) A cross similar to the last, but with single-line squares inserted in the four cantons. There is a defaced and worn inscription on the top and sinister sides; it is very difficult to decipher, but seems to be ꝺe(?)ꝛ . . . . . ꝛ. About five letters are broken away. It is not recorded by Dr. Petrie.

36. (2 ft. by 1 foot 1½ in. by 3½ in.) A cross formed by pairs of lines intersecting, inside a single-line margin; a saltire at the centre. No inscription.

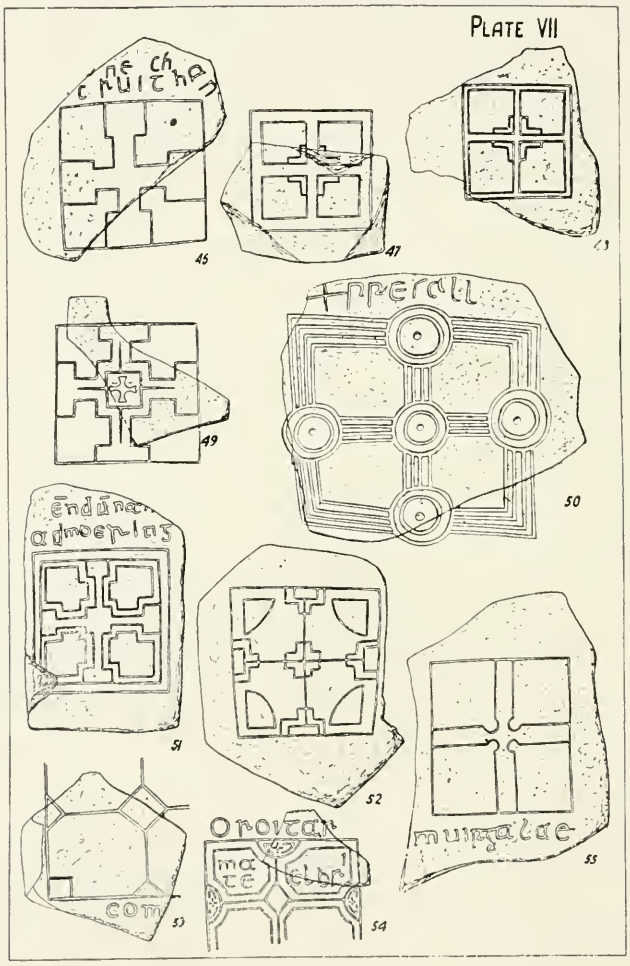
37. (1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 2½ in.) A cross with lozenge-shaped centre and triangular arm-ends, voided, inside a plain Greek cross of double lines contained in a single-line margin. Inscription ꝑꝛꝛᗅ[ꝛ]. Not in Petrie.

38. (1 foot 2 in. by 10 in. by 2¼ in.) Half of a slab which has borne a cross very similar in design to No. 35, but in which the central cross line has become attenuated to a small crosslet in the centre, and short lines at the ends. Inscription, ᗅlꞩᗅl, in bold lettering. Not in Petrie.

39. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 3½ in. by 2¾ in.) A double-line Greek cross potent in a single line margin; there are external corner-pieces to the margin. The inscription is in peculiar letters not easy to decipher; it is preceded by a small initial cross, and reads ꝛecꝺꝛíᗅ. This is one of the few cases in the entire series in which there is an initial cross to the inscription, as well as the principal cross. Compare No. 50. Not in Petrie.

40. (1 foot 10½ in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 3 in.) A peculiar design, very roughly executed. It consists of a Greek cross of four lines inside a marginal square of a single line; the terminations of the two upper corners are carried past one another, and end spirally. The cantons are filled with a series of L's fitting into each other. No inscription.

41. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2¼ in.) A cross similar to



FIGS. 46–55

No. 39, but with the addition of a crosslet and short lines like those in No. 38, and the omission of the external corner-pieces. Inscription, ᚨᚱᚢᚾᚨ. Petrie, No. 27, where the small crosslet and lines are accidentally omitted. I do not think the restoration there suggested (*Or ar Lia . . .*) justified; the inscription as it stands seems complete. It is noteworthy that the inscriptions associated with these panel crosses very rarely contain more than the simple name, and have no request for prayer. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 89.

42. (9 in. by 5½ in. by 2 in.) A small fragment with the corner of a single line-margin, the borders intersecting at the angle. Inscription beneath; the initial letters ᚴᚾ . . . (evidently part of a name like *Snedgus*, No. 63) alone remain. This cannot be correlated with any stone recorded by Petrie.

43. (1 foot 1½ in. by 8 in. by 2½ in.) A cross of four lines inside a margin of two lines, the centre surrounded by a circle of two lines; all intersections mitred. On the centre of the cross is a lozenge containing an annulet; the spaces between the cross and circle are voided. About half the cross is broken away.

44. (8 in. by 8¼ in. by 2¼ in.) Lower sinister corner of a double-line margin with internal corner-pieces; a small section of the stem of the cross also remains, insufficient for certain restoration.

45. (1 foot 1 in. by 9 in. by 3¾ in.) Fragment of a stone showing a broad cross of four lines inside a two-line margin. The angles of the cross are invecked and voided, and the centre surrounded by a lozenge; all intersections mitred. Small voided triangles on the arms of the cross ingeniously give the effect of a crosslet *pattée*. No inscription.

Plate VII.

46. A plain cross of two lines with square expanding ends inside a single-line margin. There is an inscription in two lines, so confused and careless in its cutting that its interpretation is rather an enigma. It is, however, ᚳᚱᚢᚾᛏᚻᚾᛖᚳᚻᚨᚾ.

The second line must be read first, which adds to the difficulty; compare No. 51. Not in Petrie.

47. (1 foot 3 in. by 1 foot by 3 in.) Double-line cross with double-line margin: corner-pieces in the angle of the cross. About half the slab lost. No inscription.

48. (1 foot 4 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 3¾ in.) A slab bearing a cross identical in design with the previous example. Pairs of slabs with identical crosses are exceedingly rare at Clonmacnois, nearly all having some individuality.

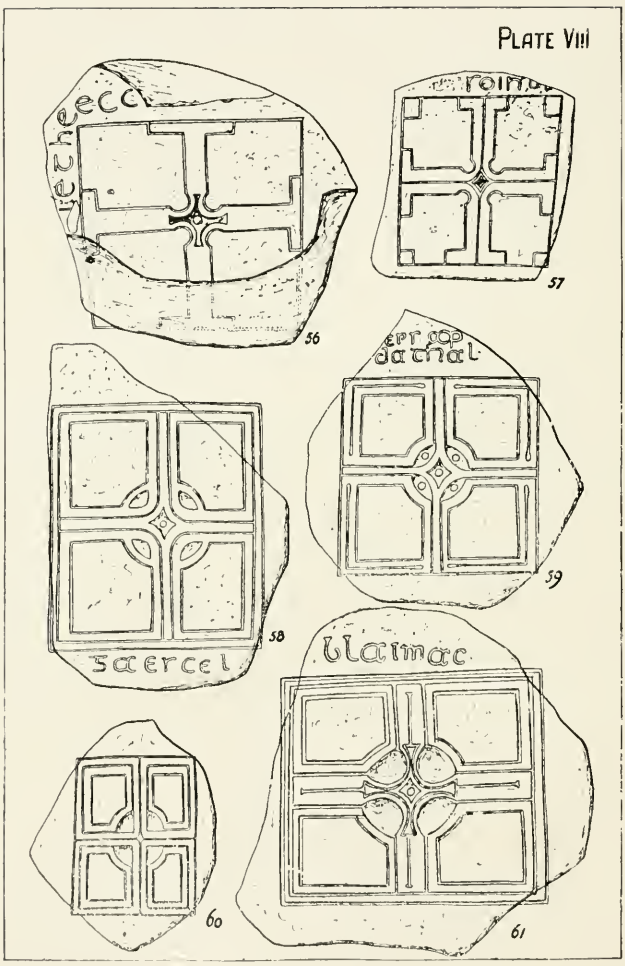
49. (1 foot 1 in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 2¼ in.) A cross potent quadrate inside a single-line margin. On the square centre of the cross is cut a square containing a crosslet *pattée*. No inscription on the surviving portion of the slab.

50. (2 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 in.) The design on this slab is so worn that it is very difficult to decipher. It consists of a four-line cross inside a four-line margin, with a set of concentric circles interrupting every intersection. The inscription above is + ꝑꝛeꝑcıll. This is another example of the very rare use of an initial cross co-existent with the principal cross. Not in Petrie.

51. (1 foot 10¼ in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 3 in.) A cross potent quadrate of four lines inside a three-line margin. Internal intersections mitred. Above is an inscription in two lines. Petrie (No. 72) gives a very good drawing of the stone (which seems to have suffered injury in the lower dexter corner since he examined it), and two alternative readings, neither of which is admissible. The true reading is obviously:

énɒúnᗅ....
ᗅɒmoeʀnʒ

that is, reading the second line first (as in No. 46, and in one of the inscriptions of Inisealtra), ᗅɒmoeʀ mʒén ɒúnᗅ . . ., "Admoer, daughter of Duna. . . ." I find, on reference to the Corrigenda in vol. ii of Petrie, that Bishop Graves had already suggested this interpretation to Petrie's editor, Miss Stokes. The impossible identification with an exemplary lady recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 806, is probably not due to Bishop Graves. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 87.



FIGS. 56–61

52. (1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2 in.) Single-line cross, with stepped corner-pieces and arm-ends, inside a single-line margin with internal corner-pieces. A rudely executed memorial. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 88.

53. (1 foot 2 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 2½ in.) Single-line cross, with lozenge at centre and triangular arm-ends, inside a single-line margin. Inscription, COM . . ., the rest fractured away. Petrie, No. 2, shows the stone in the same state as now, except that the corner-piece in the upper dexter angle of the margin has now disappeared.

54. (9 in. by 5 in. by 1½ in.) Only a very small fragment remains of this cross, which Petrie (No. 84) saw more than half complete. It seems to have been a three-line Latin cross (which is much rarer inside a panel than the Greek variety), with a blank lozenge at the centre, and semicircular arm-ends, containing a modified key-pattern not quite correctly deciphered in Petrie. There was a two-line margin, and intersections were mitred throughout. The inscription, of which sufficient remains to identify the fragment, occupied the top of the slab and the two upper cantons, being disposed as shown in the drawing. It read [OROI]T AR [MA]ELBRI[TE], the bracketed letters having now entirely disappeared. It is unusual to find the word *Oroit* written in full. The name should, of course, have been *Mael-Brigte*, signifying the tonsured servant of Brigit. The engraver seems by accident to have omitted the *ig*, and then partially corrected his mistake by inserting the *i* above; but not finding room for the *g* anywhere, he left it out altogether.

55. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 3¼ in.) Two-line Greek cross, with invecked angles, inside a single-line margin. Inscription, MUIRGALAE. Petrie, No. 107.

PLATE VIII.

56. (2 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 2¼ in.) Two-line cross potent, with invecked angles; at the centre a crosslet *pattée*, voided, containing a pellet. Single-line margin. The inscription is so broken as to be unintelligible; it apparently consists of two words ... LETHE ECC ... The first word is probably the termination

of the name; the second might be some such word as *eces*, *eccs*, "poet," except that at the end of the flake by which the word is interrupted, a curve is visible that will not work in with this. It looks like the bottom of a C. About three letters are lost before this mark. Not in Petrie.

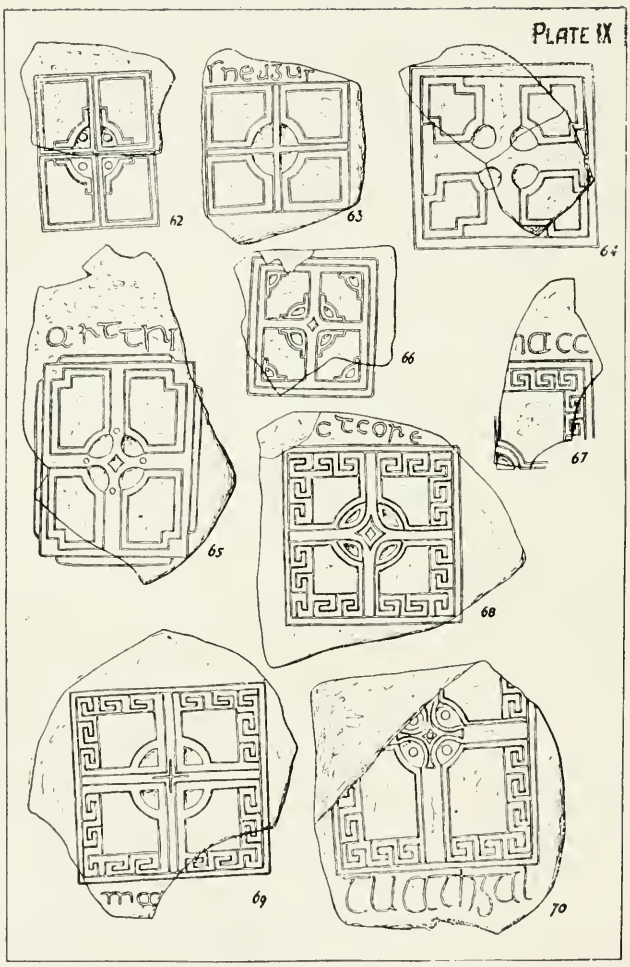
57. (1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 3½ in.) Three-line cross potent with lozenge containing a voided lozenge at the centre. Single-line margin with square internal corner-pieces. Inscription partly defaced; the only certain letters are ꟻOIII; before these are two letters, flaked away, and after it are the lower curves of two other letters that cannot be identified with certainty. Not in Petrie.

58. Four-line cross in a three-line margin; a single-line circle round the centre of the cross. In the middle a voided lozenge containing a pellet. Internal intersections mitred; spaces between the cross and the circle voided. Inscription, ꝴAESCEꝉ. Not in Petrie. I failed to find this stone at my third visit.

59. (2 ft. by 2 ft. 3 in. by 1½ in.) Four-line cross inside three-line margin; circle round centre of cross. The spaces between the circle and the angles of the cross, and a lozenge on the cross, are voided, and contain pellets. The arms of the cross are exceptionally treated; instead of joining the second line of the margin, they project through to the outer line, and the second line is stopped at each intersection with a club-head; contrast the otherwise similar cross No. 58. Inscription in two lines above, EPꟻCOP ꝺAꞇhAꝉ, "Bishop Dathal." Petrie, No. 26, where the pellets are omitted, and the peculiar treatment of the arm-ends overlooked; in the letterpress the stone is said to be lost, and the guess recorded that as no "Bishop Dathal" can be traced, the name should be read *Cathal*. Happily, however, the monument is safe and sound at Clonmacnois, and the name is certainly *Dathal*. Moreover, there *is* a Bishop Dathal recorded in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 816.

60. (1 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. by 4 in.) A cross resembling No. 58, except for the attenuation of the central lozenge. No inscription. The inscribed surface of the slab is slightly concave.

61. (2 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 4 in.) Four-line cross in a



Figs. 62–70

three-line panel; intersections of cross invecked, and surrounded by a circle; spaces between cross and circle voided. On the cross a crosslet *pattée* in the centre of which is a voided lozenge containing a pellet, and from whose arms crutched bars run along the surface of the main cross. Inscription, ᛒᚳᚪᛗᛗᚪᚳ. Petrie, No. 69, where the crosslet is not correctly represented. Graves, No. 1.

PLATE IX.

62. (1 foot ½ in. by 9 in. by 2 in.) Three-line cross with corner-pieces forming a circle and enclosing voided spaces containing pellets, inside double-line margin. Intersections mitred. Half broken away. No inscription on the remaining portion.

63. (1 foot 3½ in. by 1 foot 2½ in. by 3 in.) Four-line cross, the two outer lines forming a voided circle that contains the intersection, all inside a two-line margin. Inscription, ᚩᚾᛖᚩᚷᚢᛚᚠ. Petrie, No. 62, where the cross is incorrectly invecked at the angles.

64. Two fragments, respectively 1 foot by 8¼ in. by 3 in. and 1 ft. 1 in. by 7½ in. by 3 in., belonging to a slab that bore a four-line cross potent invecked, with a circle surrounding the centre, inside a three-line margin.

65. (2 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 3½ in.) Four-line cross, invecked at the intersections, the two outer lines forming a voided circle that surrounds the centre. On the cross, a voided lozenge at the centre, and a voided circlet at each intersection with the surrounding circle. The margin is in three lines, the two inner lines being bent to form corner-pieces in each angle; an additional external line springs from each side a short distance from the angle. Inscription, ᚪᚱᛏᛏᚱᚢ. Petrie, No. 63. Graves, No. 6, where the inscription is read [ᚩ]ᚪᚻᛏᛏᚻᚢ.

66. (1 foot 2 in. by 1 foot by 2½ in.) A cross much resembling No. 62, but with a third marginal line, internal corner-pieces in the angles of the margin, and a voided lozenge on the intersection of the cross.

67. (1 foot 3 in. by 10 in. by 2 in.) Fragment of a slab containing a cross inside a Greek fret-margin; a small corner of the

circular centre alone remains, and the upper sinister margin of the angle. Inscription, ACC, preceded by part of a letter that may be H, M, or N. Not in Petrie.

68. (2 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 3½ in.) Four-line cross with a circle round the intersection, enclosed in a Greek fret-margin. Lozenge at the centre. The inscription has lost one or two initial letters by a flake from the stone: what is left is . . . CTCORE. Not in Petrie.

69. (2 ft. 1 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 5 in.) A similar cross, but with a plain crosslet at the centre. Inscription, MA . . . the rest broken away. Petrie, No. 41.

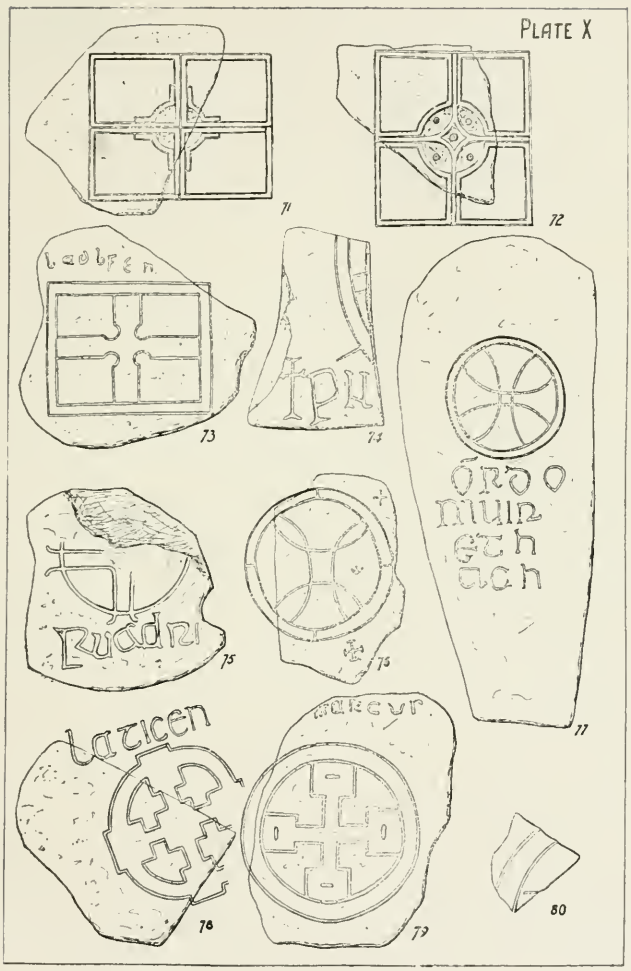
70. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 2½ in. by 2 in.) A four-line cross with invecked angles, the intersection surrounded by a circle enclosing voided spaces containing pellets, all within a Greek fret margin. A cross *pattée* containing a lozenge enclosing a pellet on the intersection of the cross. Inscription, TUATHGAL. Petrie, No. 29. Graves, No. 34, but the inscription is read TUCAMGAL.

Plate X.

71. (1 foot 4 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2¾ in.) Three-line cross in two-line margin; circular corner-pieces to the cross, forming a voided circle enclosing the intersection. No inscription. About half the cross lost.

72. (1 foot 3½ in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 3 in.) Four-line cross in two-line margin. The centre of the cross expands into a lozenge, and the outer lines form a circle that surrounds the centre of the cross. The lozenge, and the spaces between the circles and the cross are voided, and contain pellets. The greater part of three quarters broken away.

73. (1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4 in.) A double-line cross, invecked at the angles, enclosed in a double-line margin. The inscription is exceedingly difficult to read. After much trouble I thought I had made out BADBFEN. I am doubtful whether to equate this stone to the slab shown in Petrie's No. 1 (*a* in chap. ii); he gives the upper part of a panelled cross, not unlike the present example, and the inscription MAILDUIN. The



FIGS. 71–80

MAI are on the dexter side of the stone, where, as the drawing in this work shows, the slab under description is now broken: the LOII correspond to and are not much unlike my bAO. Against this comparison is the fact that Petrie shows the lower part of the panel almost totally effaced, whereas I find it all but complete. This may, however, be explained; Petrie's sketch may have been worked up from notes taken on the spot by some one interested in the inscription only, who neglected to draw the cross, except enough to explain the disposition of the lettering. Compare No. 94. In Petrie's letterpress it is said that the *Mailduin* stone is no longer to be found. This is not to be wondered at, if the identification here suggested be sound.

74. (1 foot 6 in. by 11 in. by 2½ in.) Here we meet with the first example of a cross in a circular panel. It seems to have been a plain two-line cross in a two-line circle, but this is not altogether certain. The small stroke projecting from the circumference of the circle on the dexter side is probably a mark of prolongation over the U. The inscription is +PU . . . Here we again meet with an initial cross. Were it not for the disposition of this cross, the inscription would more naturally be read inversely, IO.

75. (1 foot 8 in. by 1 foot 2 in. by 1½ in.) Two-line cross in a single-line circle; the terminations of the cross-arms project beyond the circle and diverge. The upper part of the stone is fractured. Inscription, RUAORI. Petrie, No. 20, seems to have found this stone complete in 1822. The letterpress says that it is missing, which, however, is not the case.

76. (1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 10½ in. by 3 in.) A cross *pattée*, formed of four arcs of circles inside a double-line circular margin. This margin is divided by cross-bars into four quarters. On the sinister side of the cross is a mark like an inverted broad arrow; is this meant for *Omega*, corresponding to an *Alpha* that may have been cut on the lost portion of the dexter side? Outside the circular margin are two small crosses, one plain, the other a cross potent; probably there were two others on the lost portion of the slab. This appears to be an altar-stone, not a monument.

77. (3 ft. 6½ in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 3¾ in.) A shapely slab bearing a cross resembling that last described, formed of four arcs

of circles within a double-line margin. The inscription is in four lines of very neatly cut ornamental lettering, OR DO MURE-THACH. Not in Petrie.

78. (1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 11 in. by 1¼ in.) A cross quadrate, with square arm-ends, connected by a double-line circle. Only a single curve remains of the inscription, which Petrie found complete in 1846. It is evidently his No. 68, where the inscription is given as LATICEN.

79. (2 ft. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2 in.) A cross with square expanding arm-ends, in each of which is a small stroke, all contained in a double-line circle. The inscription is MARCUS, being one of the three non-Irish names now to be found in this series of memorials. But a similar though more elaborate cross, which has now disappeared, is figured by Petrie with the inscription THOMAS (No. 258, *post*).

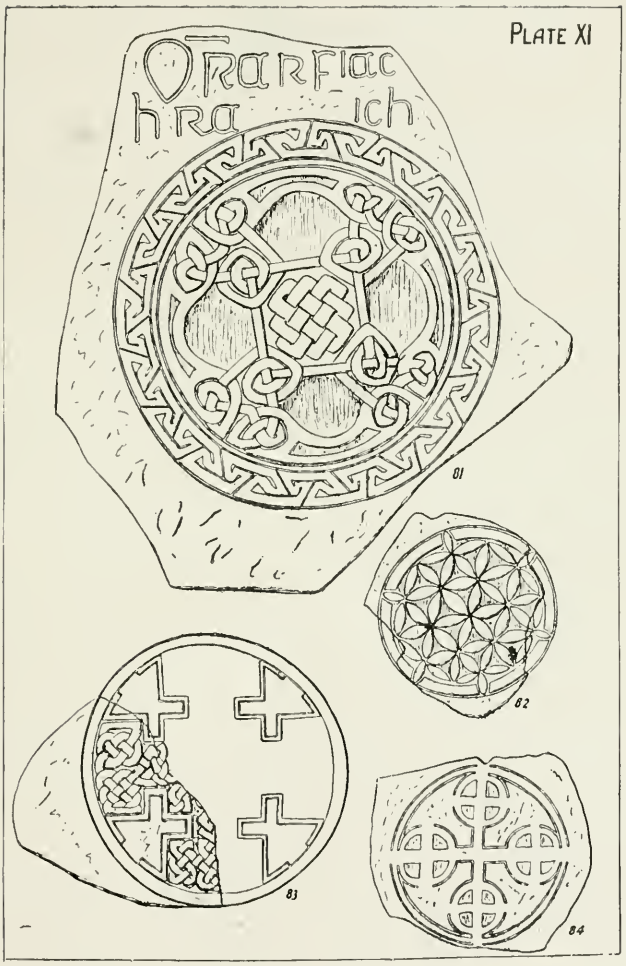
80. (7½ in. by 6 in. by 1½ in.) A small fragment apparently with a cross in a two-line circle, similar to No. 74.

Plate XI.

81. (3 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 9 in. by 4½ in.) This magnificent slab is by far the finest of the whole series. The design is peculiar and original; the cross being formed by a single withy-band which by its interlacings makes a square in the centre, and groups of three spiral knots in each of the arms. The central device is much flaked, and the decipherment suggested in the drawing is to a large extent conjectural. A key-pattern fret surrounds the circle. Above is the inscription, in two lines of beautifully cut lettering, OR AR FLACHRAICH. The drawing in Petrie (No. 95) must, I fear, be called a caricature. Graves, No. 10.

82. (1 foot 5½ in. by 1 foot 2 in. by 1¾ in.) A circle containing a diaper of leaves, arranged to form hexagons. The circumference of the circle is broken in six places by the leaves. The whole device and effect are very uncommon.

83. (1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2½ in.) A fragment of what has been a very striking slab, bearing a cross quadrate potent inside a circle. The whole area of the cross was covered with highly complex interlacing work. There is not enough of the cross



FIGS. 81–84

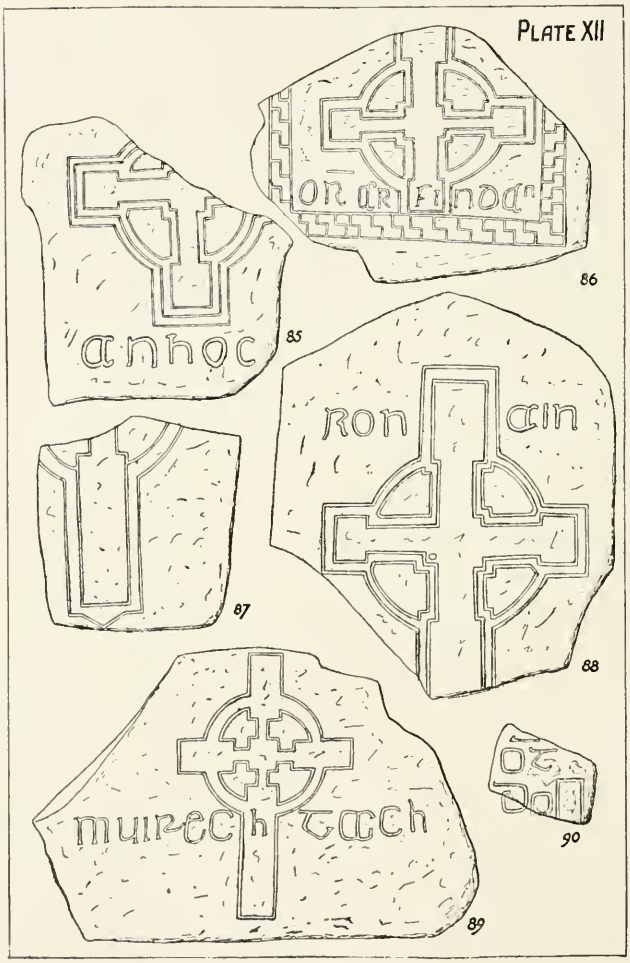


PLATE XII
anhoc
85
or ar finoa
86
ron ain
88
87
muiredh tach
89
90

FIGS. 85-90

left to justify a restoration of the lost portion of the interlacements; it is improbable that the four arms were similarly treated, and there is too little of the central portion remaining.

84. (1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2½ in.) A most remarkable cross; it is a plain Latin cross in a two-line circle; each arm is crossleted, and the crosslets are contained in circles tangential to the margin. Not the least peculiar feature is the way in which the crosses are indicated by gapped lines and voided spaces, rather than actually drawn. This is probably an altar-slab, the central cross and the four crosslets making the necessary five.

Plate XII.

85. (2 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. by 3½ in.) A cross quadrate, the arms joined by a three-line circle; intersections mitred. The inscription reads ᚫᚾᚺᚩᚳ, not ᚫᚾᚾᚩᚳ, as read by Petrie, No. 80.

86. (1 foot 10 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 3¼ in.) This seems to be a Celtic cross quadrate, inverted with respect to the accompanying inscription: the fracture of the base, however, makes it a little uncertain whether it may not be an equilateral cross, like the preceding example. The inscription which crosses the head is ᚩᚱ ᚫᚱ ᚹᚾᚩᚫᚾ; the letters are of a peculiar angular shape; the final ᚾ is crowded into a small space. The whole is surrounded by a rude fret border. Petrie (No. 42) shows the cross complete and equilateral. Graves, No. 11.

87. (1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2 in.) Lower end of a "Celtic" cross. The bottom line is peaked into an obtuse point.

88. (3 ft. by 2 ft. 4½ in. by 4 in.) A quadrate Celtic cross with double-line margin, every intersection mitred. The carelessness of the engraver in setting out the central square is curious; the two dexter angles are treated differently from the two sinister, and from each other. Inscription in two upper cantons, ᚱᚩᚾᚫᚾ. Petrie (No. 99) shows the cross complete and equilateral; this hardly appears justifiable by the surviving portions. The centre is also wrongly made circular. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 85.

89. (2 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 9½ in. by 4½ in.) A neatly cut quadrate

Celtic cross, with the inscription MUIRECHTACH in one line crossing its base. Not in Petrie.

90. (9 in. by 6 in. by 4½ in.) Small fragment, much scaled, apparently of the head of a Celtic cross, with the inscription OT DO . . . The abbreviation $\overline{\text{OT}}$ (instead of $\overline{\text{OR}}$) is uncommon. Not in Petrie.

PLATE XIII.

91. (Breadth of two upper fragments together, 2 ft. 8½ in.; thickness, 2 in.; lower fragment, 1 foot 2 in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2 in.) This stone has been broken in several pieces, and a large section of the middle is missing. It bears a quadrate Celtic cross of two lines; it is curious that the ends are mitred on the stem, not on the arms. The corners are developed into loops, with a dot in the centre (absent in the loops on the base). Inscription, OR DO BROTUR, in neatly cut letters in one line across the head. Petrie (No. 24) found the upper part only, which was then in one piece; it is now broken in two. He omits the dots from the loops.

92. (2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 3¼ in. by 2½ in.) Quadrate Celtic cross with loops at the corners. The inscription is in two lines above, $\overline{\text{OR}}$ AR MAEL QUIARÁIN. Petrie, No. 76; the waving of the arm-ends is incorrect, and the mark of prolongation is omitted. Graves, No. 27. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 84.

93. (3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.) Quadrate Celtic cross of two marginal lines; they terminate at the base in two spirals, one single, the other double. The inscription is in three lines above, OROIT [A]R FERDAMMACH. Note OROIT written in full. The A is lost by a flake. Petrie No. 51 is a very good representation of this stone, and its general shape is shown better than usual; the two spirals are, however, both made single, which is wrong.

PLATE XIV.

94. (2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. by 4½ in.) Quadrate Celtic cross with plain square ends to the arms. Inscription, OR DO ANGUS. Evidently Petrie's representation has been drawn from a rubbing made by some one who cared for the inscription only, as the cross

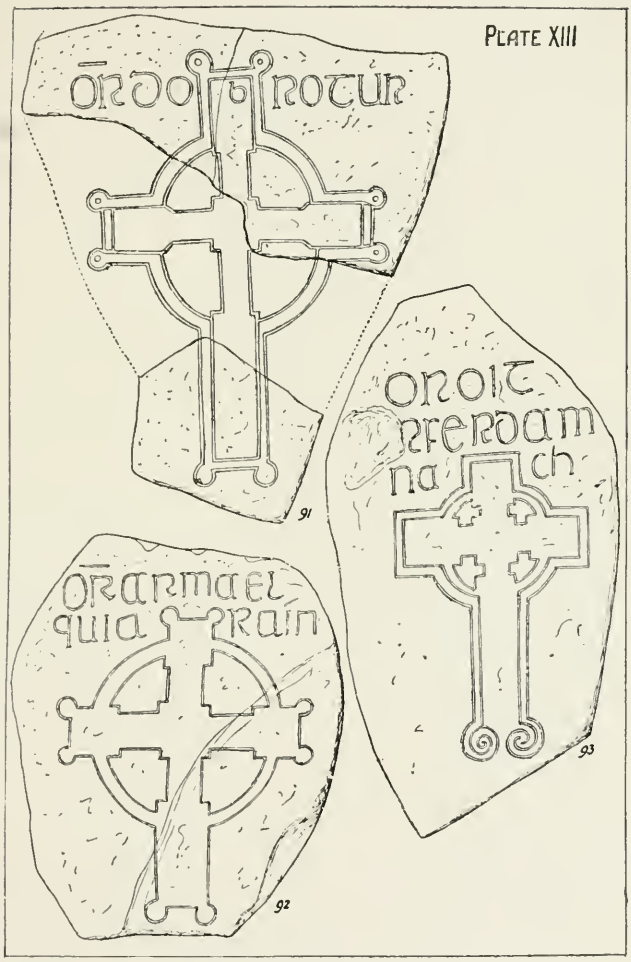
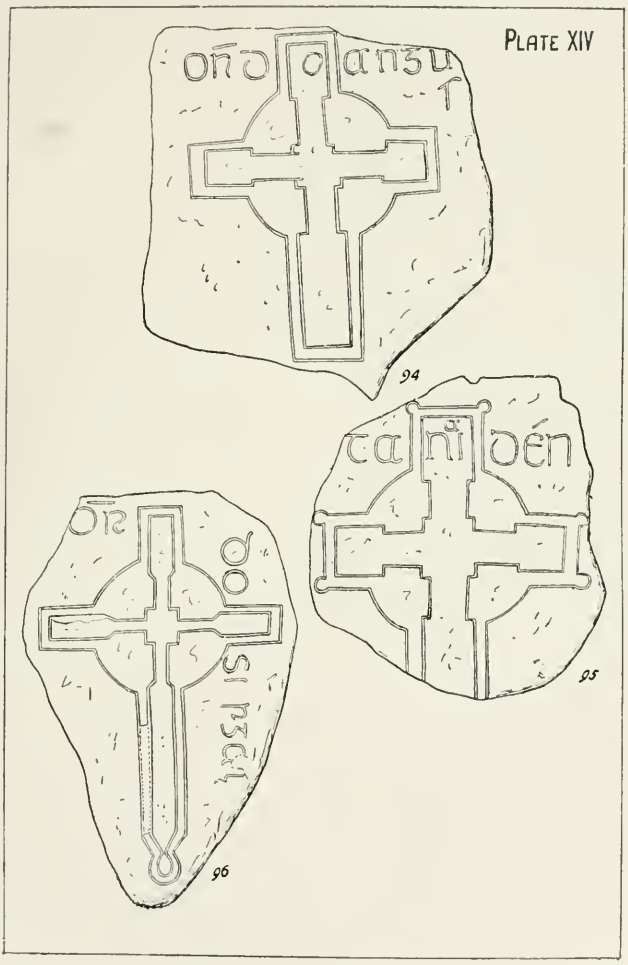


PLATE XIII
ORDO NOCTUR
91
ORO IT
NFERDAM
NA CH
93
ORARMAEL
QUIA RAM
92

FIGS. 91–93



FIGS. 94–96

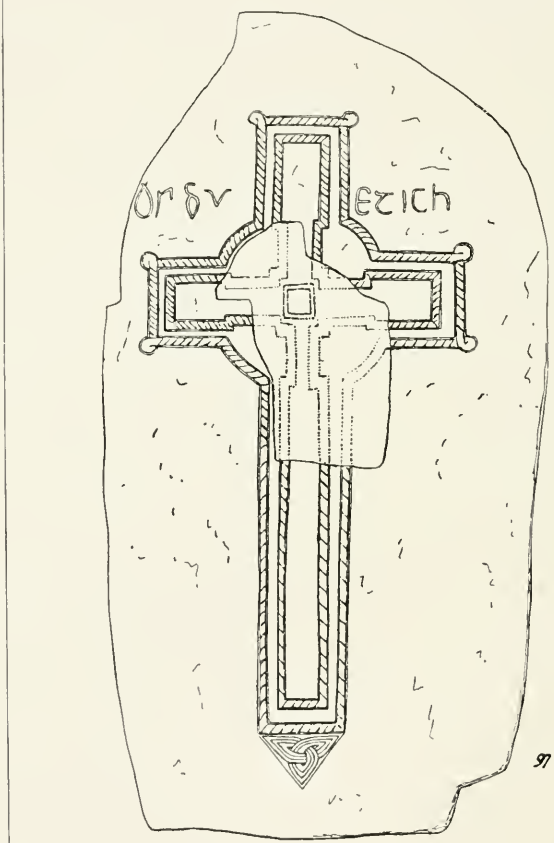


FIG. 97

is not drawn at all (No. 79), and the stone is represented as though it were broken immediately below the line of writing. This recalls the suggestions made above, No. 73.

95. (2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 2¾ in.) A quadrate Celtic cross with looped ends to the arms. The inscription is difficult to decipher; it looks like ꝺAMAIꝺÉN. The reading in Petrie (No. 155), where the letters are drawn with uncalled-for irregularity, is *(H)uaraiden*, which is impossible.

96. (3 ft. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.) Quadrate Celtic cross, with long narrow expanding arms having their inner terminations oblique. The bottom ends in an uncommon manner, tapering first to a point and then swelling out to an oval. The inscription is unusually disposed; apparently the scribe commenced to write it horizontally in the upper dexter canton, and then, finding that he had no room, completed it vertically in the two sinister cantons. The stone is much weathered, and the writing difficult to read. Petrie saw it in 1822, when it was presumably in a slightly better condition, and read OR̄ ꝺO ꝼERꝴAL (No. 123). I can follow this as far as OR̄ ꝺO . . . RꝴAL, but holding the stone in an oblique light I trace a distinct S just under the sinister arm, with room for U, or possibly UI, between it and the R. I think therefore that the name was SUIRꝴAL. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 86 (an unfinished drawing).

PLATE XV.

97. (5 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 2 in. by 3 in.) This is the largest memorial slab now at Clonmacnois. It bears a cross of unique design, being a Celtic cross defined by a double margin of rope-work. The angles are looped. The foot is pointed and contains a triquetra. Petrie's drawing is on the whole a very fair representation (No. 89); the cross has suffered serious injury since, a great flake having been knocked off the middle. Inscription, OR ꝺV ꝰTICH. The spelling of the preposition is remarkable.

PLATE XVI.

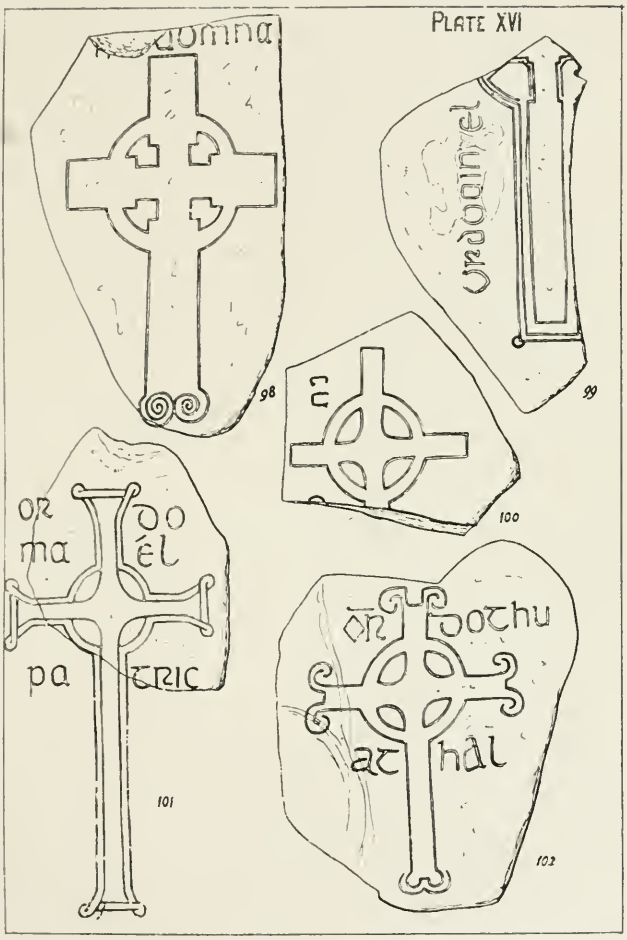
98. (3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 3 in.) A Celtic cross with plain centre, the sides terminating below in simple spirals. The inscription is injured, having lost about three initial letters by a flake of the stone; what is left is ꝺomnᴀ. It is natural to think of ꝑeꝛꝺomnᴀc�al as the restoration, as Petrie (No. 106) has done. This, however, is inadmissible. There is no evidence that there were any letters following the ᴀ, where the stone shows no sign of fracture; and two small fragments of vertical lines project below the spall, which will not work in with ꝑeꝛ. The initial letter may have been n.

99. (2 ft. 7 in. by 1 foot 6½ in. by 1½ in.) A Celtic cross of most peculiar type. Unfortunately it is much mutilated and worn, so that the complete details of its design cannot be made out with certainty. It seems to have a three-line margin, with small loops to the angles; but the panels in the cantons are open below in an unusual manner, and the small fragment of the dexter arm that remains seems to show that it was not shaped in the ordinary manner. The inscription, exceptionally, reads upwards on the dexter side. It is much scaled and injured, and no reading can be certain; the nearest I can get is oꝛ ꝺo ᴀm[ʒ]el, but this can only be a suggestion. Not in Petrie.

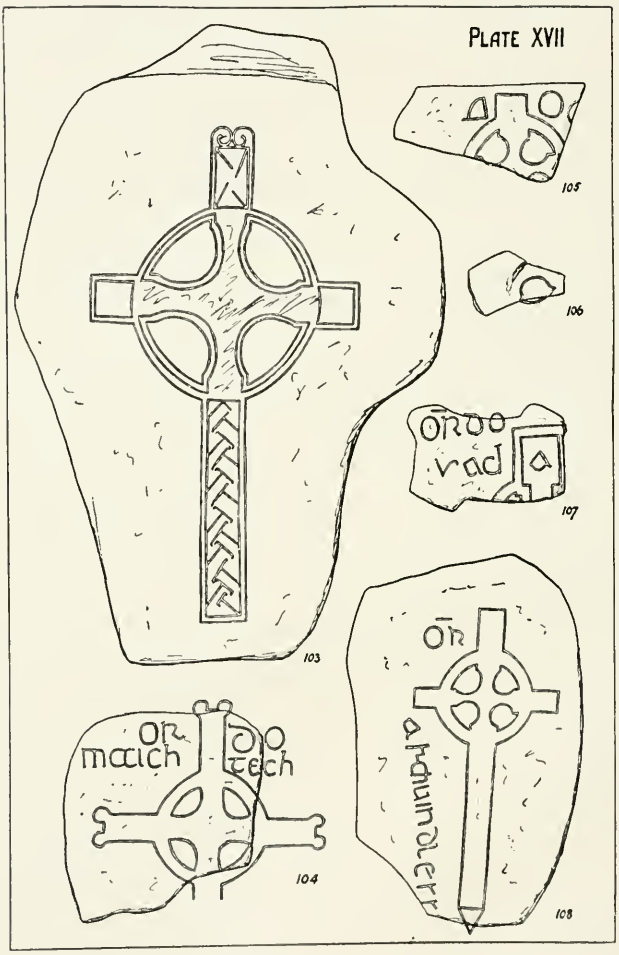
100. (1 foot 8½ in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2¼ in.) Celtic cross arms not expanding. Inscription, cu [o ? . . .]. Not in Petrie.

101. (2 ft. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2½ in.) A slab with a Celtic cross defined by a double-line margin. The ends of the cross expand into triangular spaces with loops at the angles. The inscription is now mutilated; Petrie (No. 61) shows the cross and legend complete, except for the end of the dexter arm, which had already gone in 1822. The spaces between the circle and the cross should not be voided. The inscription reads o̅ꝛ̅ ꝺo maél[ꝑᴀ]ꞇʀic, the bracketed letters having now completely gone. Graves, No. 25. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 69.

102. (2 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. by 2¼ in.) A Celtic cross of unusual design; the ends are coiled spirally, an extra line at the termination making the spirals double, except in the base, which



Figs. 98–102



FIGS. 103–108

is of rather different design. The inscription is ᚩᚱ ᚭᚩ ᚳᚻᚢᛞᚳᚻᚪᛚ. The centre of the cross is not correctly treated in Petrie (No. 35). Graves, No. 32.

PLATE XVII.

103. (4 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. by 5 in.) This fine memorial lay at the side of the principal track through the cemetery, and was used as a slide by boys. I gave directions for it to be locked up with the rest of the slabs, but the mischief had already been done. The cross is so worn that I found it impossible to obtain a satisfactory rubbing, and to delineate it I was obliged to rely on a measured drawing. It is a Celtic cross, the angles invecked, the circle of three lines. The head of the cross terminates in two spirals. The surface of the cross is divided into panels which were filled with a simple key-pattern: in the drawing I give all of this that I could make out, but have no doubt that originally this decoration extended over the entire cross, inside as well as outside the circle. There is no trace of an inscription.

104. (1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.) A Celtic cross with the arms curving into the stem without invecking, and having loops at the terminations. Inscription, ᚩᚱ ᚭ[ᚩ] ᛗᚪᛁᚳᚻᛏᛖ[ᚳᚻ]. Petrie, No. 7, where the inscription (which has now lost the bracketed letters) is shown intact. The stone, however, is fortunately not "lost," as the letterpress asserts.

105. (1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 9 in. by 4 in.) Top of a plain Celtic cross with invecked angles at the intersection. Parts of three letters remain at the top; it is difficult to decipher these, as the first seems to be an ᚪ inverted with respect to the rest. It might be suggested that the inscription begins ᚪᚩᚭ . . ., but this can only be a guess.

106. (8 in. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{7}{8}$ in.) A small fragment which seems to bear a single loop of a Celtic cross. This, however, is doubtful, as the fragment is large enough to have other parts of such a design upon it, which do not appear. It is something of an enigma.

107. (1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 8 in. by 5 in.) Top of a probably quadrate Celtic cross of which the head alone remains. The

inscription is OR DO VADA, which may or may not be complete. Petrie, No. 39, where the indication of the circle is omitted.

108. (2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. by 6 in.) A plain Celtic cross, *fitchée.* The inscription is peculiarly disposed; apparently, as in the case of the *Siurgal* monument (No. 96), the engraver commenced in the upper dexter canton to write horizontally, and then changed his mind and finished the inscription vertically. It is curious that he finished it on the dexter rather than on the sinister side of the cross. The inscription, which is in peculiar cramped letters, reads OR AR CHUMDLEIT. Petrie, No. 11, where the point at the foot of the cross is omitted, and the spaces between the cross and the circle are voided; the lettering also is rather freely treated. Graves, No. 2.

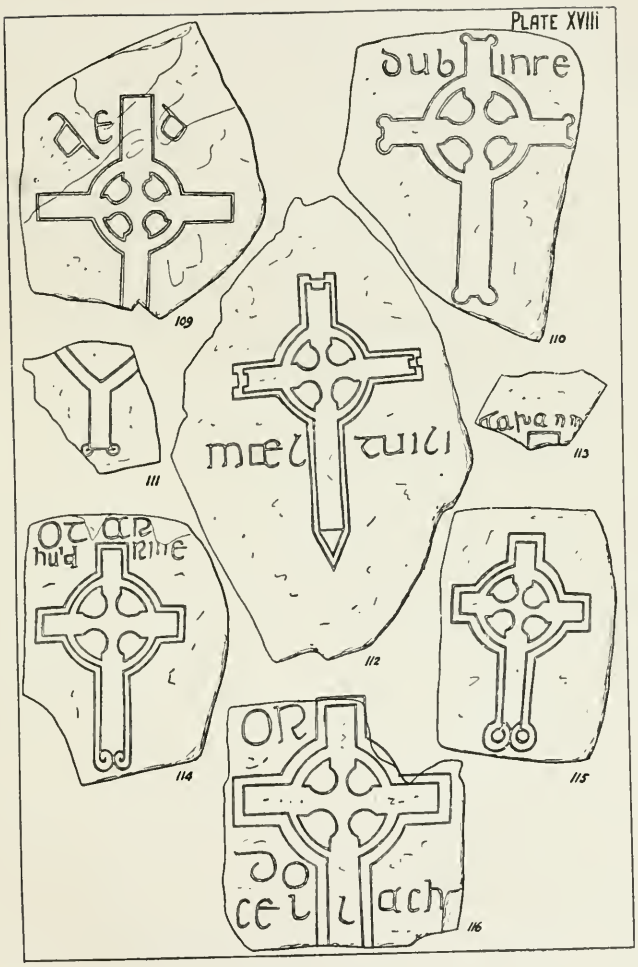
PLATE XVIII.

109. (2 ft. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2½ in.) A plain Celtic cross, the bottom broken away, and angles invecked. Inscription, AED. The surface of the stone is much flaked, but this has not seriously interfered with the cross or inscription. Petrie, No. 74.

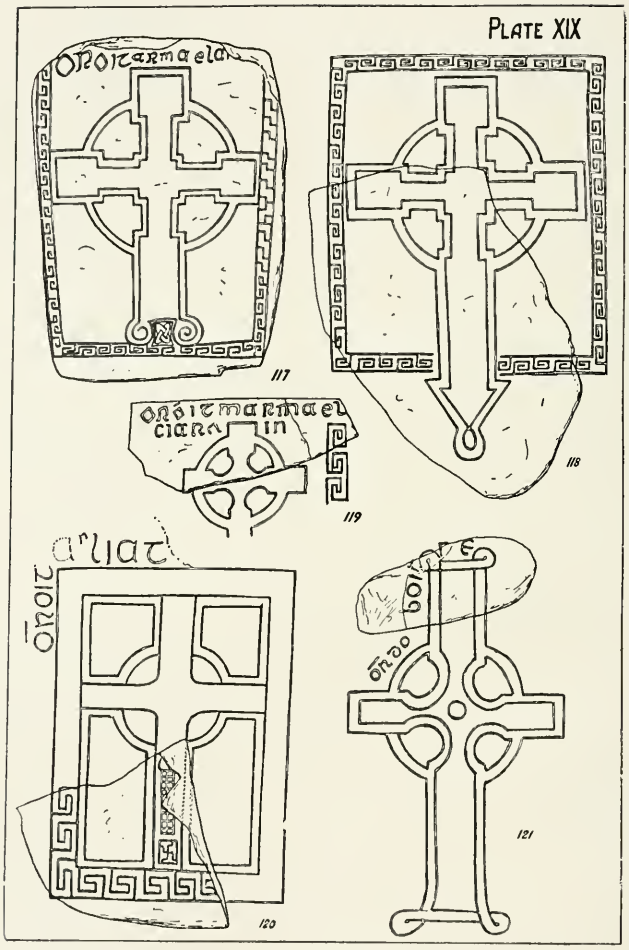
110. (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 2½ in.) A cross much resembling that of Maichtech, No. 104. The inscription is DUBINE. Petrie, No. 36, where the centre of the cross is misunderstood.

111. (11 in. by 10 in. by 1¾ in.) Fragment bearing part of the stem (or arms) of a peculiar cross, unlike anything else in the entire series. It appears to have been a modification of a Celtic cross, with small loops at the terminations of the arms, having the circle changed rather to a lozenge shape, and the entire central portion inside the circle suppressed. It is unfortunate that only about a quarter of this curious design remains. The nearest that can be compared with it is the *Huacan* stone, No. 125.

112. (3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. ½ in. by 1½ in.) This is another curious variation, though not so remarkable as the last; it allies itself to crosses of the type of Nos. 104 and 110. Instead of the two loops, however, the arms terminate with square notches. The base is pointed. The inscription reads MAELTUILI. Petrie, No. 56.



Figs. 109-116



Figs. 117–121

113. (11½ in. by 7 in. by 1¾ in.) A small fragment with the extreme top of a Celtic cross and a section of an inscription curving over it. This fragment is tantalizing; one more letter would probably have told us whether it originally read [OROI]T AR AMM[AM . . . ., "A prayer for the soul of . . . .," a formula that would be unique at Clonmacnois, or whether the AMM be the initial of a name like *Ammere*, which was borne by an abbot of Clonmacnois who died A.D. 948.

114. (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2 in.) A Celtic cross with invecked intersections, defined by a two-line margin which terminates in spirals below. The inscription is OT AR huIORIne, where we once more see the rare abbreviation OT. The first I was evidently omitted and afterwards inserted. Petrie, No. 57; the cantons should not be voided. Graves, No. 17, reads huelRIne. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 83.

115. (1 foot 11½ in. by 1 foot 4 in. by 2¼ in.) A cross identical in design with the preceding, and most probably the work of the same hand. No inscription. Another cross of the same group, now lost, is figured by Petrie, No. 58 (see chap. ii, No. 227).

116. (1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 4 in.) This cross also seems of the same pattern; it is, however, on a larger scale, and a fracture at the base prevents our seeing whether, like the others, it terminated in spirals. The inscription is OR DO cellach. The drawing in Petrie (No. 12) seems to have been made from an imperfect rubbing, which omitted the upper part of the stone. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 82.

Plate XIX.

117. (2 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4¼ in.) This is the first of a short series of crosses of the Celtic type enclosed in a Greek fret-border. The present example is quadrate, the ends terminating below in spirals enclosing between them a panel containing a knot. The marginal fret is singularly irregular. It was apparently interrupted at the top, the inscription OROIT AR maela . . . taking its place. Petrie, No. 47. Graves, No. 18.

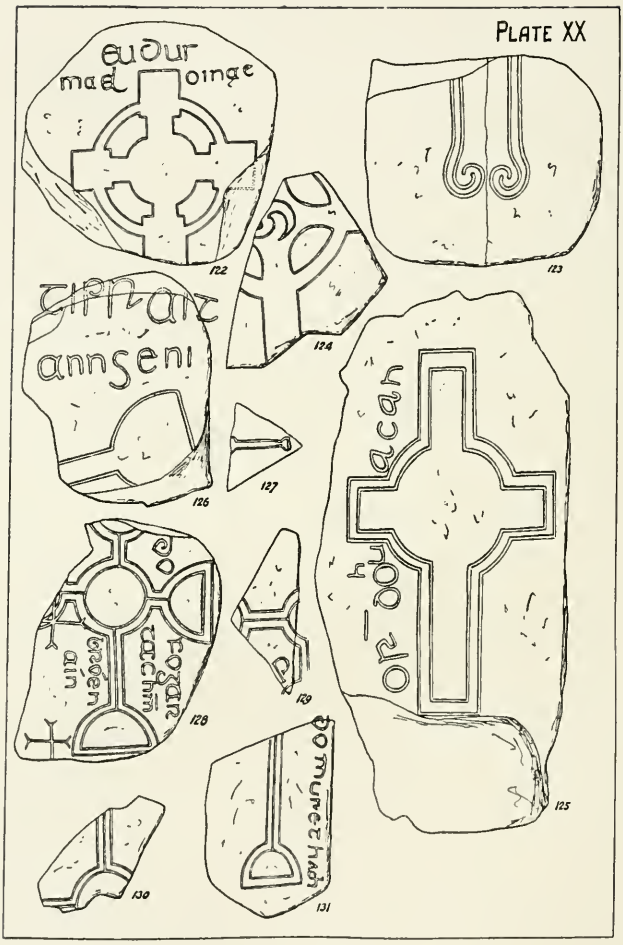
118. (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2¼ in.) A Celtic cross

quadrate, with a basal termination recalling that on the *Siurgal* stone (No. 96), but differing in that the triangle projects beyond the side of the cross-stem. The Greek fret-border is interrupted to allow this base to pass through. Whether there was an inscription or not on the stone is unknown; less than half remains.

119. (1 foot 3 in. by 10 in. by 2 in.) When I first visited Clonmacnois, this stone was as shown in the plate. Even then it had lost a considerable portion, including more than half the cross-head shown by Petrie, No. 103. On my second visit I found that the sinister end had been broken off and had disappeared, carrying away three and a half letters, and the last relic of the Greek fret-border. The inscription is ORÓIT (M)AR MAELCIARAIN. The engraver evidently forgot the AR, and found his mistake out after cutting the initial of *Mael-Ciarain*; the M has been partially effaced by hammering. Note the mark of prolongation over the O of OROIT. The dimensions here given are those of the sole surviving fragment.

120. (1 foot 4 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2½ in.) A small fragment alone remains of this once fine and interesting cross. It was a plain Celtic cross in a well-executed Greek fret. On the surface of the stem was a curious ladder-like ornament, terminating in horns above, and a panel containing a swastika—the only example at Clonmacnois of this motive. It is unfortunate that Petrie's drawing (No. 30), from which we learn that the stone was almost complete in 1822, is so sketchy and indefinite with respect to the ornamentation of the cross-stem, and also to the inscription, which he gives as ORŌIT AR LIAT . . .; the remainder being lost by a fracture. I have copied this inscription as Petrie gives it on the plate, but am very doubtful of its accuracy; the mark of contraction over the *scriptio plena* of OROIT is suspicious. But the inscription is no longer available, and the copy past emendation.

121. (9½ in. by 1 foot 5¼ in. by 2¾ in.) This is a mere fragment of a fine cross which Petrie found perfect, and figured in his No. 23. In the restoration I have adopted his drawing, but it is not quite correct in its representation of the existing portion. It was a Celtic cross with plain arm-ends, straight head, and triangular base, having loops at the corners of the stem but not of



FIGS. 122–131

the arms. The inscription, which curved round the upper dexter canton, was ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ ᚢᛟᚾᚾᛖ, giving a name not found elsewhere. There was a small circle on the intersection, which is another curious feature.

PLATE XX.

122. (1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2½ in.) A peculiar and very effective Celtic cross, of a type not elsewhere found at Clonmacnois, with a circular centre instead of the more usual square. The inscription consists of two names; it is ᛖᚢᚦᚢᛋ ᛗᚪᛖᛚᛟᛗᚪᛖ. The second name occurs in a now lost stone, Petrie, No. 48 (chap. ii, 225); he does not give this monument.

123. (1 foot by 1 foot 1 in. by 4 in.) Bottom of a slab which has borne a large cross terminating below in double spirals. This slab was broken some time between 1901 and 1906, and only the sinister half (of which the above are the dimensions) can now be found.

124. (1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot ½ in. by 4 in.) Central portion of a Celtic cross, remarkable for a triskelion cut on its intersection. This is a common ornament in the next type of crosses to be considered, but is not elsewhere found in the Celtic crosses.

125. (3 ft. 9½ in. by 2 ft. by 5 in.) A large cross founded on the type of the Celtic cross, but with the part inside the circle suppressed. There is a knob on the stone below the base of the cross which has not been smoothed away; no doubt the stone was meant to stand upright, in which case this irregularity would be hidden in the ground. The inscription is ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ ᚻᚢᚪᚳᚪᚾ. The position of the mark of contraction is curious; note also the insertion of the ᚻ, which had been omitted by the scribe. Petrie, No. 19.

126. (1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 5½ in. by 3¾ in.) We now enter on a large and important series of crosses whose essential features are a circular expansion at the centre, and semicircular expansions at the terminations, usually filled with knot-work or other devices, but occasionally, as in this example, empty. This is, perhaps, the most characteristic form of the Clonmacnois crosses. The present example is a mere fragment of what has been a very large slab,

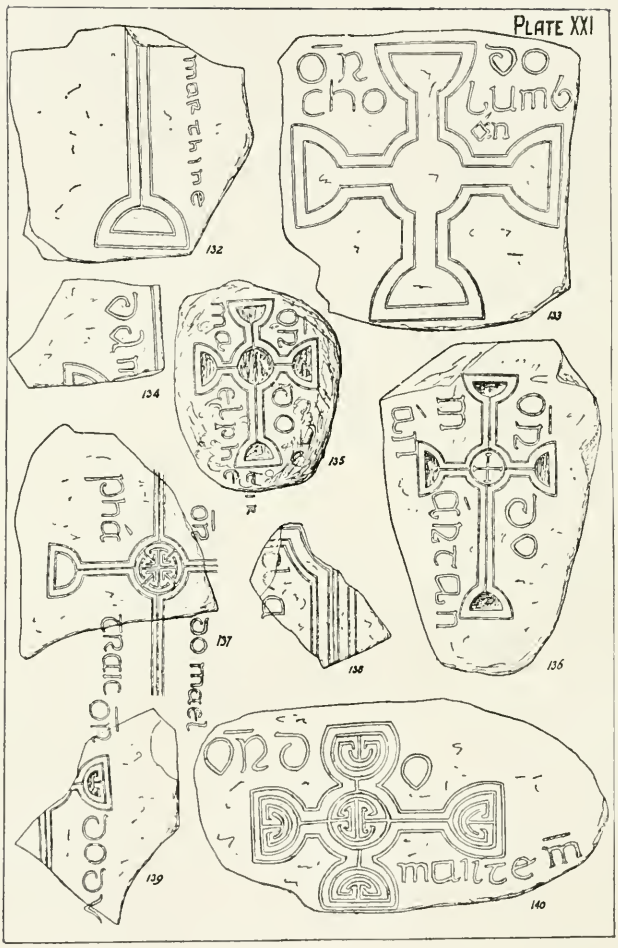
to judge by the scale, not only of the existing arm-end, but also of the fragment of another cross sculptured on its reverse face; for this is one of the two "palimpsests" of the series. (The other cross will be found in No. 196 of this collection.) The cross under discussion seems to have been of the simplest description—a plain two-line stem, without ornament in the expansions. Portions of an inscription remain. The second line is ᚪᚾᚾᛋᛖᚾ, not ᚪᚾᚾ-ᚷᛖᚾ as in Petrie, as there is no crossbar at the top of the fourth letter. The bottoms of the letters of the upper line alone remain; but fortunately the Annals come to our aid, by recording an abbot of Clonmacnois, Tibraide son of Ainnsene, who died A.D. 929. It is quite clear that the surviving fragments of letters represent the name *Tiprait* (sic), as shown in the restoration in the drawing.

Petrie's drawing (No. 77) is from an imperfect rubbing, and by some slip the stone is said, in the letterpress, to belong to Clonburren.

127. (6½ in. by 6¾ in. by 1½ in.) Apparently the arm of a small and delicately engraved cross of the same type as the larger example on slab No. 126.

128. (1 foot 9½ in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2 in.) A cross with three-line stem, plain circular central expansion and semicircular arm-ends. The inscription is [OR᛫ᚩᚩ ᚠᛟᚷᚪᚱᛏᚪᚳᚻ ᛗ᛫ᛒᚱᚩᛖᚾᚪᛁᛗ, one of the very few instances in which parentage is recorded on these monuments. The stone seems to have been adapted as an altar-slab, small crosses, *fourchées*, being cut on its edge. As they interfere with the design, they are no doubt later additions. Probably there were two or more of these on the broken part of the slab, making, with the original cross, five in all. It must be admitted, however, that Petrie (No. 115) shows the slab complete, and there are no other crosslets indicated. Though simple, the execution of this cross and of the accompanying lettering displays great skill on the part of the engraver. Graves, No. 14. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 78.

129. (1 foot 3 in. by 5½ in. by 2 in.) A small fragment of a slab that has evidently borne a cross similar to the preceding. Of the inscription nothing remains but one letter which may be ᚩ or ᚹ. I cannot identify it with anything in Petrie's work.



Figs. 132–140

130. (1 foot by 9¼ in. by 1½ in.) A small fragment with the central portion of a similar cross.

131. (1 foot 6 in. by 1 foot 1½ in. by 3 in.) Arm or stem of a similar cross, with the inscription [OR] DO MURETHACH. I presume this is Petrie's No. 179, but the cross is there omitted altogether.

PLATE XXI.

132. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 6 in. by 3 in.) Arm or stem of a similar cross, with the inscription . . . MARTHINE. Petrie, No. 40.

133. (2 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. by 2½ in.) An equilateral cross with four-line stem; plain circular central and semicircular terminal expansions. Inscription OR DO CHOLUMBÁN (not -ON, as in Petrie, No. 3). Graves (No. 3) has the inscription correct, but describes the cross as injured. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 79.

134. (1 foot 1¼ in. by 9½ in. by 1½ in.) Side and portion of the arm of a cross of similar type to the preceding. Inscription, . . . DAM . . . probably part of FERDAMNACH.

135. (1 foot 10½ in. by 1 foot 3½ in. by 5¼ in.) This cross and inscription are cut, exceptionally, on a rounded block of stone, not on a flat slab. It is not very easy to decipher the inscription, especially from a rubbing, for the curious reason that the texture of the stone is full of small round nodules whose edges so closely resemble O, D, and other round letters, that the real writing is confused by them. Indeed I had to examine the original stone very carefully in order to satisfy myself that it was not actually the palimpsest it appeared at first to be. For the sake of clearness these nodules are indicated only in the most summary fashion in the drawing, as they would introduce unnecessary complications if made as definite as they actually are. The cross resembles that of Fogartach (No. 128), but the five expansions are voided. The inscription is OR DO MAELPHET[IR]. Not in Petrie; there is a good sketch in O'Neill's *High Crosses*, which shows the now missing final letters. Graves, No. 26.

136. (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 4 in.) A cross similar to the preceding, differing only in the treatment of the central expansion, which is not voided, and bears a small crosslet potent. The inscription is OR DO MÁRTAMÁN. Petrie, 103*a*, where the

crosslet and marks of prolongation are omitted. Graves, No. 28. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 77.

137. (1 foot 6½ in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 1½ in.) This beautifully cut cross has been badly mutilated. It has a three-line stem with a circular central expansion containing a key-pattern, and blank semicircular terminal expansions. The inscription, which was symmetrically disposed in the cantons, read [OR DO MAEL] PHÁT[RAIC]. The stone was complete in 1822, save for the top and upper sinister canton, and one or two slight flaws in the terminals; the inscription was all there except the initial OR. See Petrie, No. 140.

138. (1 foot 1 in. by 1 foot by 2 in.) The stem and part of the circular central expansion of a seven-line cross. Three letters of the inscription, C(?)LA, remain in part.

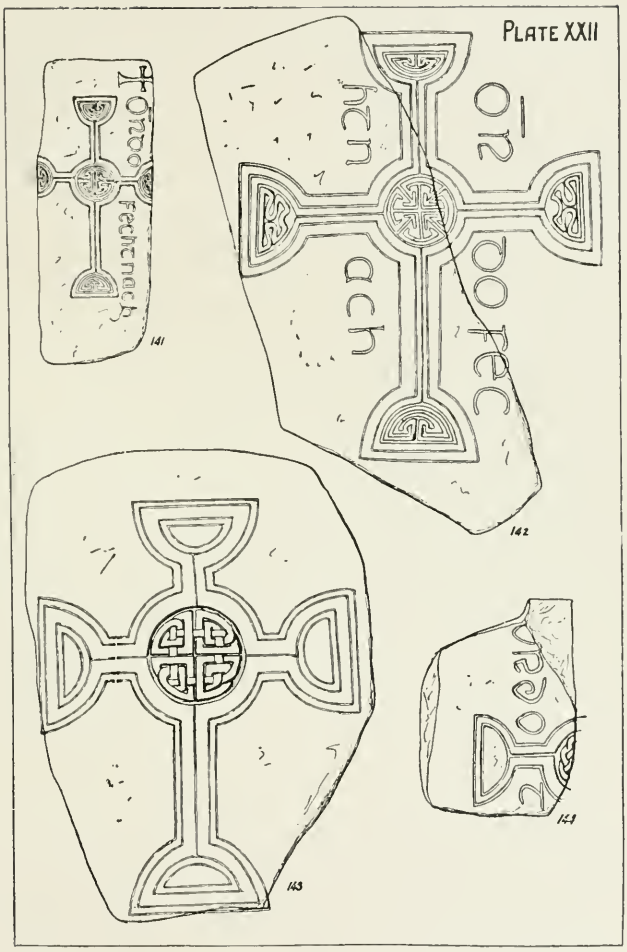
139. (1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 2 in. by 1¼ in.) A fragment of a three-line cross with one arm-end remaining; it has a semicircular terminal expansion showing a peculiar compromise between "voiding" and the key-pattern, not found elsewhere. The inscription is (O)R DO DV . . .

140. (2 ft. 10 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2½ in.) A cross with circular centre and arm-ends rather larger than a semicircle, all containing key-patterns. The central expansion is now clogged with lime, and the pattern can no longer be made out. The inscription is OR DO MAILTEM. The reading MARTEM (Petrie, No. 137) is not correct: the name, abbreviated in writing, is *Mailtemin*, which is to be found in the Annals of Ulster. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 75.

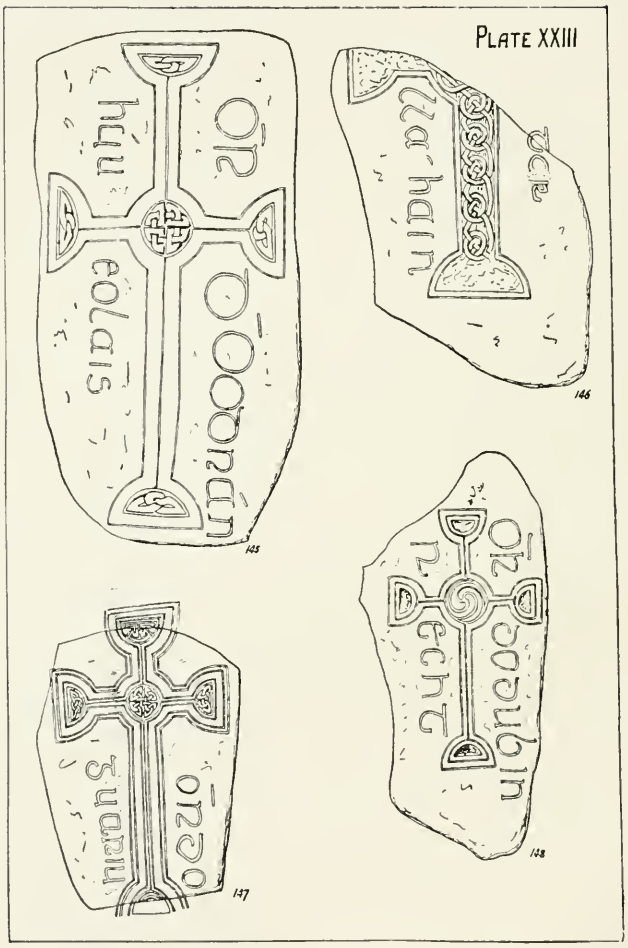
Plate XXII.

141. (2 ft. 2 in. by 10¼ in. by 5 in.) This cross stands at the holy well of St. Ciaran, about a quarter of a mile down the Shannon from Clonmacnois. The cross is of the same general type as the last, but is of much neater execution; the terminal expansions are, however, semicircular. The inscription is + OR DO FECHTNACH. Here we see another example of a subordinate initial cross. Petrie, No. 83; Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 67.

142. (3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 in.) A cross similar to the



FIGS. 141-144



FIGS. 145–148

preceding, but on a larger scale. The pattern in the surviving arm-end is curious. The inscription evidently was the same as that of the preceding cross, [ᚩᚱ ᚫᚩ] ᚠᛖᚳᚻᛏᚾᚪᚳᚻ. Petrie (No. 138) found the stone in the same state as it is now.

143. A five-line cross, with circular central expansion, containing a knot, and blank semicircular terminals. No inscription. I failed to find this remarkable slab at my third visit.

144. (1 ft. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 1 foot $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Fragment of a slab with part of a three-line cross, having a circular central expansion containing a knot, and blank semicircular terminals. Some parts of the cross and inscription are split off from the face. The inscription is ᚩᚱ ᚫᚩ ᛏ . . . .

Plate XXIII.

145. (3 ft. 8 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.) A slab bearing a three-line cross, with the usual circular and semicircular expansions, containing triquetras very roughly executed. The inscription is ᚩᚱ ᚩᚩ ᚩᚦᚱᚪᚾ ᚻᚪᚾ ᛖᛟᛚᚪᛁᛋ. The mark of contraction over the ᚩᚩ is curious; evidently it is to satisfy a desire for symmetry, and to balance the similar mark over the ᚩᚱ. I suspect the scribe intended to write the whole name in the sinister cantons, but, finding he had no room, was obliged to upset his scheme by squeezing *Odrán* into the space after *do*. Petrie, No. 131; Graves, No. 30.

146. The lower half of a very beautiful but much-worn slab. The rubbing from which I prepared the drawing was not altogether satisfactory, and, in consequence, I cannot with assurance maintain the truth of my rendering, which differs considerably from Petrie's (No. 136). But the Gothic-looking floral scroll, which in Petrie's drawing takes the place of the knot-work, is so very un-Celtic that it can hardly be correct. I could make nothing of the knot-work in the expansions, which was much defaced; and of the inscription on the sinister side of the cross I made [ᚩᚱᚩᛁ]ᛏ ᚪᚱ, as against Petrie's [ᚩᚱ ᚩ]ᚩ ᛒᚱᚪᚾ. We agree in reading [ᚢᚪ]ᛚᚳᚪ[ᚳ]ᚻᚪᚾ on the dexter side. To my great regret I failed utterly to find this slab on my third visit,

though I twice ransacked the whole churchyard with the special purpose of re-discovering it.

147. (2 ft. 3 in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 4 in.) A fine seven-line cross of the same shape as the preceding, with a knot in the centre and side terminals, and key-pattern in the upper. The lower terminal is broken off. Inscription, OR DO ꝶUARIU. Petrie (No. 117) fails to show the ornaments of the expansions.

148. (3 ft. by 1 foot 8½ in. by 4 in.) A fine slab with a well-cut three-line cross of the same type as the preceding. In the central expansion is a triskelion; the terminal expansions are voided. Inscription, OR DO DUBINRECHT. Not in Petrie.

Plate XXIV.

The first four crosses on this plate are identical in design, which, as we have already remarked, is a very exceptional circumstance. They are three-line crosses, with circular central expansions containing triskelions, and blank semicircular terminals. They differ only in dimensions and inscriptions.

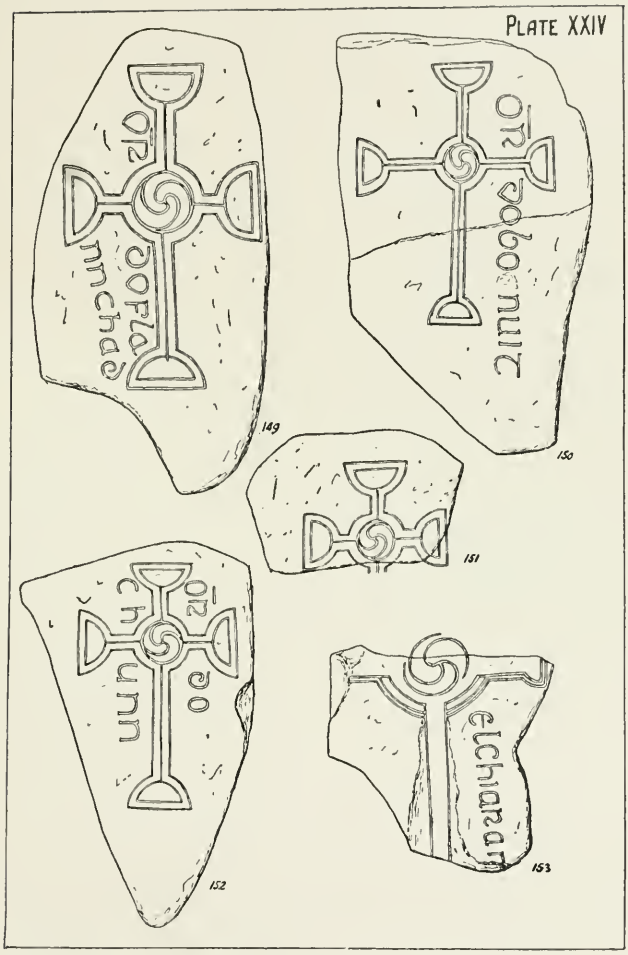
149. (3 ft. 6 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 4½ in.) Cross as above described. Inscription, OR DO FLANNCHAD. Petrie, No. 132; Graves, No. 13.

150. (3 ft. 2 in. by 1 foot 11 in. by 3 in.) Cross as above described. Inscription, OR DO BONUIT. The N is placed at a distance from the O to avoid a small roughness in the surface of the stone. Since Petrie drew it in 1822 (it is his No. 133), the stone has been broken in two. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 76.

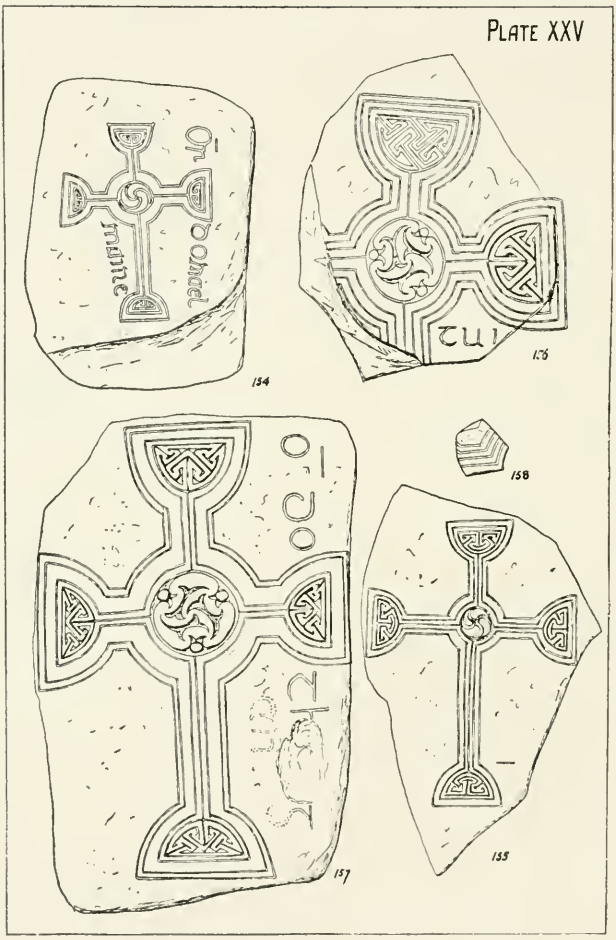
151. (1 foot ⅛ in. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2½ in.) Cross as above described, the base broken off. No inscription.

152. (2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. by 2 in.) Cross as above described. Inscription, OR DO CHUMN. The H is perfect, notwithstanding Petrie (No. 147).

153. (1 foot 7 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 2¾ in.) A curious cross, in which the stem is two-line, the arms four-line, and the circular central expansion three-line; their mutual adaptation can best be seen by examining the drawing. There is a triskelion on the intersection. The top of the stone has gone and with it the



Figs. 149–153



FIGS. 154–158

beginning of the inscription, which read [MA]ELCHARAN. Petrie (No. 149) shows the stone in the same state as at present, save that the bottom is perfect; the drawing is incorrect. Graves, No. 19. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 81.

Plate XXV.

154. (2 ft. 7 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2½ in.) A rudely executed three-line cross, with a circular central expansion containing a triskelion, and semicircular terminals containing a key-pattern. The inscription is OR̄ DO MAELMARE in rather rough lettering. Petrie (No. 152) reads MAIL. I think the letter is E, but I found on attempting to settle the question that a lump of lime had become fixed immovably over the disputed place.

155. (2 ft. 11 in. by 1 foot 10 in. by 5¼ in.) Five-line cross of the same type as those described above. In the centre is a triskelion, and a well-executed key-pattern in each of the terminals. There is no trace of inscription, though a single stroke low down on the sinister side of the stem might be taken as the beginning of the cutting of a letter.

156. (2 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. by 6 in.) The head, centre, and sinister arm of a magnificent seven-line cross. The centre has a device of divergent spirals, and the surviving terminals have key-patterns of rich design. Petrie (No. 101) is a caricature of this noble cross. The inscription is all gone save the three letters TUI. Petrie's restoration, MAEL TUILE, is practically certain.

157. (3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 2 in.) A cross similar to the preceding, and scarcely, if at all, less elaborate. The inscription is much worn, and is injured by flaking of the surface of the stone. Obviously this is the stone referred to by Petrie (*Ecclesiastical Architecture*, pp. 328, 329) as resembling the monument of Suibhne mac Mailae-Humai (see No. 237 in chap. ii), of which he gives a wood-cut. The inscription he reads OR̄ DO THADGAN. In *Christian Inscriptions* (No. 144) the same reading is given, but the stone is represented as injured, much as in the present drawing. I find OR̄ DO TH (though the R̄ is no longer traceable), and then a fracture which will hold about three letters, followed by a letter

that I deciphered as ᴛ and Petrie ꟻ. I could not on my third visit detect the second line of writing shown by Petrie in the lower sinister canton, and reading ᴧᴎ; it seemed however to appear in the rubbing, and it is shown in O'Neill's excellent sketch of this stone (*High Crosses*, plate 23). I thought I found faint traces of lettering in the sinister cantons, and was at first inclined to make the whole name ᴛhuᴧᴛ[h]ᴧll. Petrie and O'Neill, however, had the advantage of seeing the stone when less worn and injured than it is now, and most probably they are right in reading ᴛhᴧoꟻᴧᴎ. Graves (No. 31) gives ᴛh . . . ᴧᴎ.

158. (5¼ in. by 5½ in. by 1¼ in.) A small fragment of what has apparently been an eight-line cross. No other example of such a cross exists at Clonmacnois.

Plate XXVI.

159. (1 foot 1¼ in. by 10 in.) A cross *pattée* with circular centre, inside a circle; in the cantons the letters ᴍᴧlec. This stone is now in the National Museum, Dublin. Petrie, No. 162.

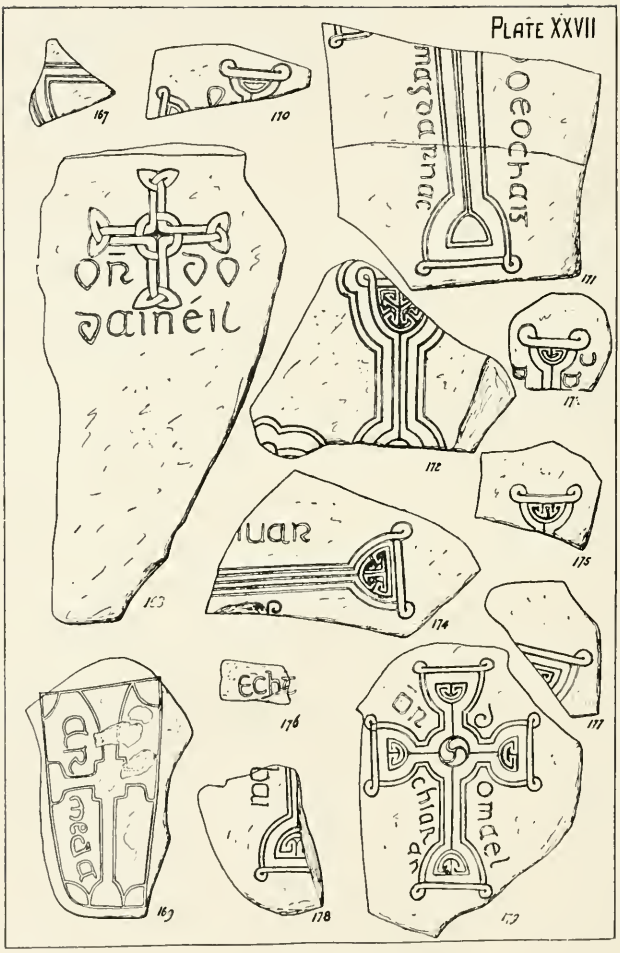
160. (11¾ in. by 6¼ in. by 1¾ in.) Small fragment of the centre and one arm of a three-line cross. The centre has had a key-pattern.

161. (On the reverse of No. 32, which see.) A rudely drawn three-line cross with blank circular central expansion and triangular terminals.

162. (1 foot 11 in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 2 in.) A cross of the same shape as the last; but the centre contains a knot and the terminals a well-drawn key-pattern. The inscription was [ᴏ̄ᴙ ᴏo ᴍᴧ]el ꝑᴍ[ᴍ]ᴧ. It is preserved by Petrie (No. 130), who saw the stone complete. His drawing of the cross is incorrect in its representation of the existing terminal ornaments; his representations of the two lost terminals (which in any case are intrinsically improbable) cannot therefore be relied upon. It is most likely that all four terminals bore the same device. Graves, No. 22.

163. (3 ft. 3 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 4½ in.) A three-line cross in which the central expansion is lozenge-shaped and contains a

Figs. 159–166



FIGS. 167–179

knot of peculiar design. The semicircular terminal expansions are blank. Inscription, OR COMGAN; the preposition has been accidentally omitted, as was at first the case in No. 119; in the present case, however, the engraver did not correct his mistake. In Petrie (No. 127) the central knot is incorrectly deciphered, and triquetras are inserted in the terminals, for which there is no justification. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 80.

164. (2 ft. 7½ in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 4½ in.) A three-line cross, with the central expansion circular, containing a very peculiar knot consisting of spirals and triquetras alternating. The three upper terminals are semicircular, the lower terminal square, all are blank. No inscription.

165. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 1½ in.) A slab bearing a cross *pommée*, with lozenge-shaped central expansion. Roughly executed. Not in Petrie. The inscription, which has lost the letters that were written in the two upper cantons, was evidently [MA]ILSE[NCH]AILL.

166. (11 in. by 1 foot by 2½ in.) A fragment of a slab which seems to have borne a cross of somewhat similar type to the last, save that the central expansion was circular and larger than usual. Of the inscription four letters, GORM, remain, probably part of GORMAN or some such name. Petrie, No. 78.

Plate XXVII.

167. (6¼ in. by 8 in. by 3 in.) A small fragment of a four-line cross; part of a blank terminal expansion alone remains.

168. (3 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 3¾ in.) This slab bears a handsome cross formed of a looped band caught by a circle at the centre, and the inscription, OR DO DAIMÉIL, the third and last instance of a non-Irish name amongst the existing inscriptions of Clonmacnois. Petrie, No. 90. Graves, No. 7. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 70.

169. (1 foot 9 in. by 1 foot 1¾ in. by 4 in.) A Latin cross with a square central expansion, rectangular expansions to the arms, semicircular expansion to the base, and trumpet-shaped expansion to the head, all inside a trapezium margin with quadrant corner-

pieces. Inscription, ᚪᚱᛗᛖᛞᚪ, in very peculiar lettering. The execution is singularly rough, and the surface much flaked. Petrie, No. 177, where the letterpress curiously states that this stone was drawn by M[argaret] S[tokes], *at Inisclorán in Lough Ree*, in the year 1869.

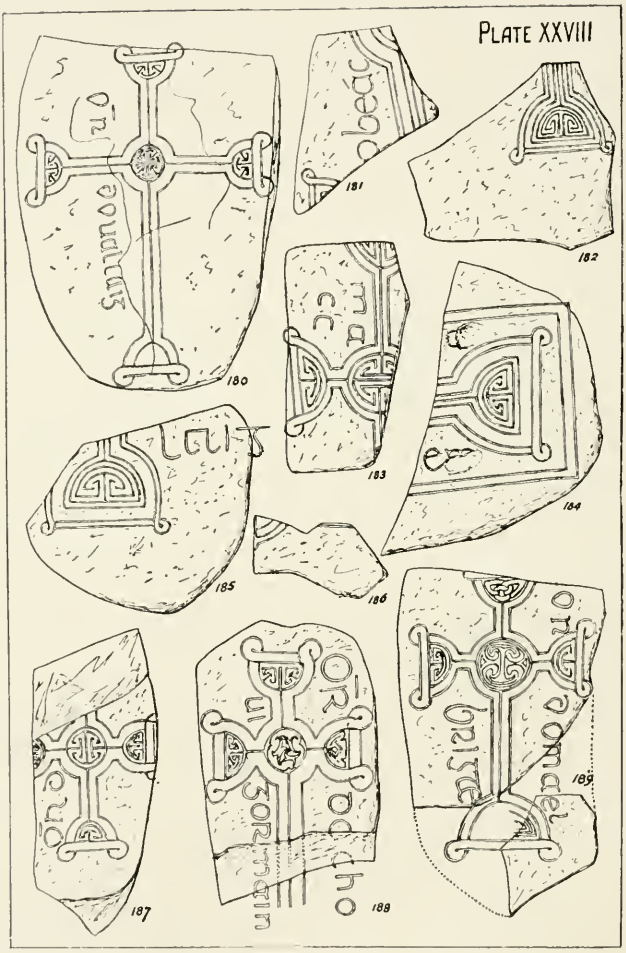
170. (1 foot 3 in. by 8 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.) We now meet with a large class of slabs which is a variation of the type that has till now been occupying our attention. In these the central expansion remains as it has been, but the angles of the terminals are looped into ears by the projection and crossing of the outer marginal line. The present example is a mere fragment, containing parts of two terminals and the letter O.

171. (1 foot 11 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.) The base and a fragment of the dexter terminal of a seven-line cross. The inscription is difficult to decipher, being flaked and also clogged with lime; it is, however, [ᚩᚱ ᛞ]o eochaiᚷ .... maᚷᛞaᚱmaᚳ. Petrie (No. 126) shows the stone as it is now, save that what was then a crack has now developed into a complete fracture. His reading is ᛞo euᚳhaiᚷ maᚷ [=maᚳ] ᛞaᚱmoᛏ [=ᛞiaᚱmaᛞa], which is grammatically impossible. *Magdarnac* is an adjective derived from a tribal or territorial name (Mughdhorna, the modern Cremorne in Monaghan). A Celechair Mughdhornach was bishop of Clonmacnois; he died in 1067, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. He probably was a relative of the owner of this slab. Graves, No. 9, gives . . . ᛏaᚹnaᚳ, which is nearer to my reading.

172. (1 foot 4 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.) A slab bearing the head and part of the dexter arm of a seven-line cross, with looped terminals containing key-patterns. It is noteworthy that the loop is not in the outer margin but in an inner band, and that the outer margin passes round it. This method of treatment is not found elsewhere in the Clonmacnois series.

173. ($10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 9 in. by 2 in.) Fragments bearing a looped terminal containing a key-pattern. The ends of two lines of writing remain, . . . ᚪ . . . ᚪᚳ. It cannot be identified with anything in Petrie.

174. (2 ft. 1 in. by 1 foot by 4 in.) A fragment bearing the



FIGS. 180–189

base of a five-line cross, with looped terminal containing a key-pattern. The inscription is . . . ᚢᚪᚱ . . . . ᚹ. The stone was much more complete when drawn by Petrie (No. 124); he shows the whole sinister side with the inscription, ᚩᚱ ᚩᚩ ᚺᚢᚪᚱ, the sinister arm of the cross coming between the two letters of ᚩᚩ. The dexter side was chipped and broken as it is now, and nothing more was visible than the single letter here shown. Petrie read it ᚺ, and restored the whole name *Huarach*; this is not correct, however, as the last letter is certainly ᚹ.

175. (10½ in. by 9 in. by 2 in.) A small fragment bearing a looped terminal with key-pattern.

176. (5¾ in. by 3½ in.) A small fragment found in the Shannon near Clonmacnois, and now in the National Museum, Dublin. Inscription, echt . . . Petrie, No. 94.

177. (10½ in. by 11 in. by 2¾ in.) A small fragment with part of a looped terminal containing a key-pattern.

178. (1 foot by 10 in. by 4 in.) A small fragment of a five-line cross containing part of an arm and looped terminal with key-pattern and the letters ᚢᚪ, evidently the end of the inscription.

179. (2 ft. by 1 foot 7 in. by 2 in.) A five-line cross with a circular expansion containing a triskelion, and looped terminal expansions containing key-patterns. Inscription, ᚩᚱ ᚩᚩ ᛗᚪᛖᛚ-ᚳᚺᚪᚱᚪᚾ. Petrie, No. 151.

O'Neill gives a drawing of this stone with ᚩᚱ expanded to ᚩᚱᚩᛁᚳ. It is his one serious mistake in dealing with these slabs. Graves, No. 20, has the same reading.

Plate XXVIII.

180. (2 ft. 5 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2 in.) A three-line cross with circular expansion and looped terminals, all containing key-patterns except the base, which has been left blank, possibly through inadvertence. Inscription, ᚩᚱ ᚩᚩ ᚢᚪᛚᛚᚪᛊ. According to Petrie (No. 112) the stone was discovered in 1868 in the cemetery of the Nuns' Church; if so, it is the only slab recorded from that graveyard. His drawing wrongly shows the key-pattern in the base expansion.

181. (1 foot 4 in. by 10½ in. by 3 in.) Fragment of a seven-line cross; corners of two terminals alone left. Inscription, [OR ꝺ ?]o beAc .... Not in Petrie.

182. (1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 2½ in.) Fragment bearing a looped terminal with key-pattern.

183. (1 foot 7¼ in. by 10 in. by 2½ in.) Fragment of the dexter side of a slab bearing a three-line cross with key-patterns in the expansions. The commencement of the inscription is lost with the sinister side of the stone; we have the last four letters only, in two lines in the upper dexter canton. The lower dexter canton seems to have contained no lettering. The inscription probably was [OR ꝺO ClhOR]mAcc. Not in Petrie.

184. (2 ft. by 1 foot 6 in. by 2½ in.) Fragment bearing a looped terminal containing key-pattern; the cross was inside a two-line panel of which the end remains. The remains of the inscription are partly spalled away, nothing remaining but C(?) ... em.

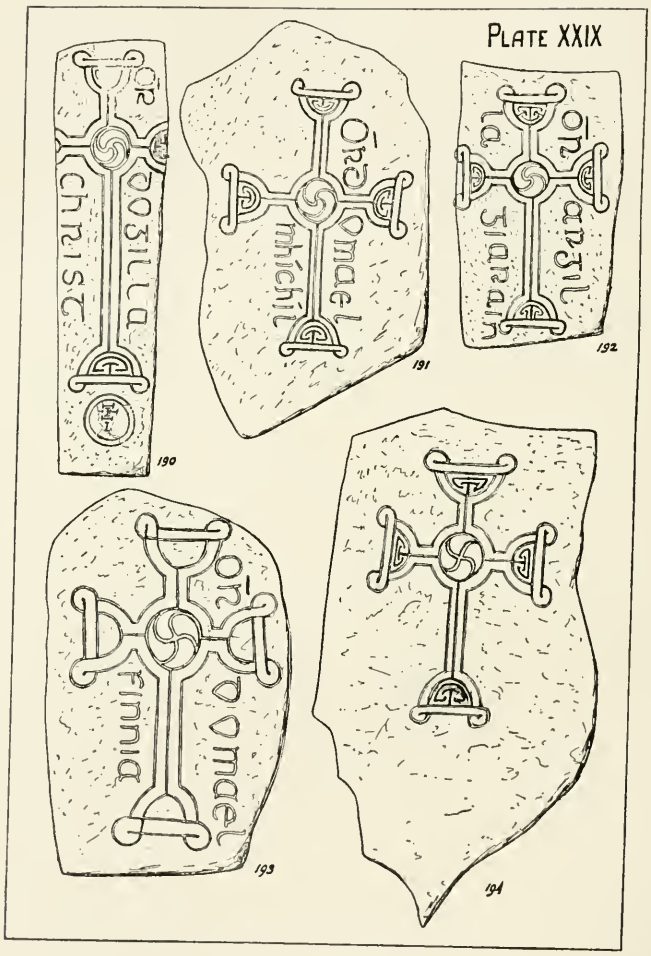
185. (1 foot 4½ in. by 1 foot 8 in. by 2½ in.) Fragment with looped terminal containing key-pattern and the letters lAIꝛ, probably the end of a name. Petrie, No. 172; the reading there adopted (*lait*) is impossible, as there is a small mark on the margin, inconsistent with ꝛ, which must be the lower end of a ꝛ.

186. Fragment bearing the side and part of the terminal of a cross. I failed to find this on my third visit.

187. (2 ft. 9 in. by 1 foot by 5½ in.) A fragment of which part of the surface has been flaked away. It bears a cross of three lines, with the usual expansions of the type now under discussion, containing key-patterns. Inscription, OR ꝺ ... Graves, No. 37.

188. (2 ft. ½ in. by 1 foot 3 in. by 2½ in.) A three-line cross with the usual expansions. The centre contains an imitation of the divergent spiral patterns of No. 156; the terminals contain key-patterns of very peculiar type, most difficult to decipher. The bottom of the stone was broken in Petrie's time (No. 100),[1]

[1] There is some confusion about this stone in Petrie. Fig. 143 is obviously an inaccurate drawing of the same slab, made after it had been reduced to its present



FIGS. 190–194

and has lost another portion since. The inscription seems to be OR D[O CHO . . .] M GOR[MAIN], which is ungrammatical; but I have no doubt that this, not M GORMAIN as Petrie has it, is the reading.

189. (2 ft. 8½ in. by 1 foot 5 in. by 4½ in.; second fragment 11 in. by 8 in. by 4½ in.) A three-line cross with a peculiar spiral pattern in the central expansion, key-patterns in the side and basal terminals, and a knot in the head terminal. The inscription is OR DO [MA]EL BRIGTE. Petrie, No. 141; the inscription is read OR DO BRIGTE, and the guess is made in the letterpress that it should be restored MAEL BRIGTE. The artist has overlooked the remains of the M, and also the small fragment, whose thickness shows that it must belong to this slab (although it does not fit the fracture, owing to the loss of the intervening part of the stone). Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 71.

Plate XXIX.

190. (3 ft. 4 in. by 1 foot by 3 in.) This slab is built in as the floor of an arched recess in the boundary wall of the cemetery. It has been cut to fit the place where it is deposited, and in consequence the dexter arm is chiselled away. Part of the upper sinister canton is concealed by the masonry of the wall (the hidden portion is represented by dotted lines in the drawing). This cross and the three following are similar in type, though all three are not absolutely identical in detail; they are three-line crosses with a circular central expansion containing a triskelion, and looped terminals with key-pattern. The present example is distinguished from all the other cross-slabs at Clonmacnois by the circular ornament beneath the cross; it is much scaled, but evidently consisted of a diaper of H's arranged vertically and horizontally alternately. The inscription is [OR] DO GILLA CHRIST. Petrie, No. 150, where the circular ornament is omitted. Graves, No. 16.

191. (3 ft. by 1 foot 10 in. by 4¼ in.) A cross similar to that last described, with the inscription, OR DO MAEL MHÍCHÍL.

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state; it is, however, treated as a different memorial. The drawing is signed by Miss Stokes, but in the letterpress it is ascribed to Dr. Petrie, and dated in the same year that he drew fig. 100.

Petrie, No. 158, which omits the stroke over OR. Graves, No. 24. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 74.

192. (1 foot 10 in. by 1 foot 2 in. by 7 in.) A cross similar to the two preceding, but differing in the design of the terminal key-pattern. The inscription is OR AR GILLA GIARAIN. Petrie, No. 105. Graves, No. 15. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 73.

193. (3 ft. by 1 foot 10 in. by 2½ in.) A three-line cross with circular central expansion containing a tetraskelion, and blank semicircular looped terminals. Inscription, OR DO MAEL FINNIA. Petrie, No. 148. Graves, No. 21. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 68.

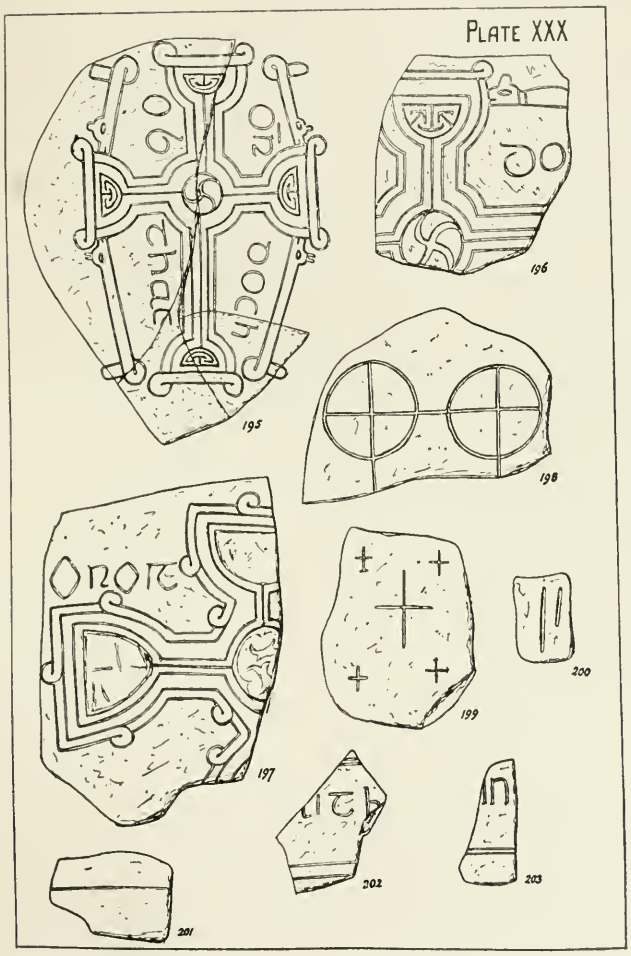
194. (3 ft. 7½ in. by 2 ft. by 3 in.) A cross similar to the last, but with key-patterns in the terminals. There is no inscription. Except for some differences in detail, which will be obvious on comparison, this stone bears a curious resemblance to No. 155, *ante*.

Plate XXX.

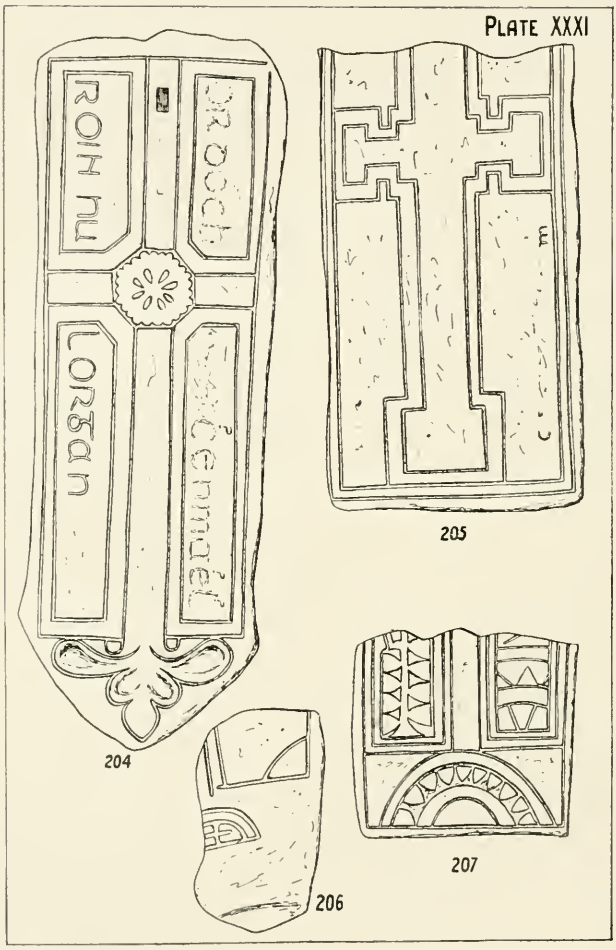
195. (2 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 in.) A cross of five lines, with a triskelion in the central expansion and key-patterns in the terminals. The design has the remarkable addition of four worms with ears, and with coiled tails, joining the terminals, and enclosing spaces in the cantons, containing the inscription. This was OR DO CHOBTHAC. Petrie (No. 32) found the stone intact; his drawing omits the upper dexter worm, and gives to the others a Gorgonian aspect hardly justified by the original. The stone has since become broken into fragments, three of which, together comprising a little more than half the design, survive. One fragment in Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 72.

196. (On the reverse of No. 126, which see.) Fragment of a seven-line cross, of the same general design as the last, but on a larger scale. The centre contains a tetraskelion. The head of one of the worms survives, and the letters DO. Petrie, No. 31, where the design is somewhat simplified.

197. (2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 3 in.) Fragment of a large and elaborate cross, very remarkable for the unusual position of the loops in the outer margin, *not* at the angles of the terminals, but in the middles of their sides. Of the inscription nothing



FIGS. 195–203



FIGS. 204–207

remains but ORO1T. The centre contains a pattern which may be either an interlacing knot, or else a divergent spiral device like that in No. 156; and the two surviving terminals contain some form of key-pattern. The cuttings are so much worn and clogged with lichen, that I have found myself quite unable to decipher them, either on the stone itself, or with the aid of rubbings. It is curious that Petrie (No. 173) omits most of the loops from the side of the cross.

198. (1 ft. 10½ in. by 1 ft. 3 in. by 1½ in.) Fragment of a slab which evidently when perfect bore a square, the ends of which were prolonged to form crosses that were afterwards enclosed within circles. It is probably an altar-slab.

199. (1 foot 5 in. by 1 foot 1 in. by 2 in.) An altar-slab with five crosses—the central cross large, the four others small. They are plain, except two of the smaller crosses, which are partly crossleted.

200. (8 in. by 5 in. by 2 in.) A slab with two deep grooves cut on it, perhaps rubbed by sharpening tools (though the ends of the grooves do not gradually become shallower, as would be expected were this their origin).

201. (10½ in. by 7½ in. by 2 in.) A fragment with a single straight line drawn across it.

202. (1 foot by 10 in. by 1¾ in.) Fragment of a cross probably, like No. 184, in a rectangular panel, but on a larger scale. Inscription, . . . LICH . . . The restoration of Petrie, No. 135, . . AICH . . is also possible.

203. (9¾ in. by 5½ in. by 2¾ in.) Fragment with two lines (? part of the side of a five- or seven-line cross) and the letters M. This is, perhaps, part of Petrie's (No. 25) reading, MARTIM. Petrie's drawing is made from a rubbing. The fact that the existing fragment shows part of a cross, and Petrie's drawing and letterpress both state there is no cross, is not absolutely conclusive against the identification. Compare the case of the *Angus* slab, No. 94, above.

Plate XXXI.

204. (5 ft. 1 in. by 1 foot 9 in. by 2½ in.) This and the three other slabs on this plate are obviously of later date than the

majority of the series. The present example consists of a Latin cross, with a rosette (now much worn) at the centre, and a floriated base, contained in a panel. There has been an inscription in the four cantons, but the commencement on the sinister side is almost completely effaced. Nor was it in much better condition in 1828, when Petrie drew the stone (No. 166). My reading differs from his. I make—

oR̄ DO CH	. . . CEMMAEL
ROM HU	LORGAN

where Petrie has DO MUG for CEN MAEL, and BORGAN for LORGAN. In the latter point I feel certain that my reading is correct, but no one can have any certainty about the lower sinister angle. The second C looks like an E, but a double E is scarcely possible. All speculations about the reading of the first part of the inscription are probably futile. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 94.

205. (3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. ½ in. by 4 in.) A quadrate Latin cross potent in a rectangular panel. I thought I detected a C and M in the lower sinister panel, as indicated in the drawing, but they are very faint, and no other traces of an inscription can be found.

206. (1 foot 9 in. by 11 in. by 3½ in.) A small fragment of the base of a panelled cross, mounted on a Calvary, bearing a crosslet.

207. A cross of similar type to the last, but better executed, and more elaborately ornamented. The indication of a tree on the dexter side is almost the only floral pattern in the whole series. I failed to find this slab at my third visit.

[Plate XXXII.]

207 *bis*. Since my last visit another fragment slab has come to light, and has been published in the *Journal R.S.A.I.* by Mr. H. S. Crawford (1909, pp. 91, 92). It was found in digging a new grave. Mr. Crawford describes the slab as about 16 in. long. It bears the looped terminal of a five-line cross, on one side the beginning of O[R̄ DO], on the other the letters GAL.

PART OF A CARVED SLAB RECENTLY FOUND AT CLONMACNOIS.

II.—THE LOST SLABS.

[Note.—Slabs marked thus (*) were already lost when Petrie's work appeared.]

In vol. i of the *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* are given all the drawings prepared or collected by Dr. Petrie, and by his successors concerned in that work, of the inscribed slabs which they found at Clonmacnois. There are 175 slabs illustrated in this work.[1] Of these a few are not actually from Clonmacnois, though all are from its neighbourhood; one is from Athlone, four from Clonburren, two from Lemanaghan, and one each from Inis Ainghin, Inisbofin, and Gallen Priory.

Of the remainder, a large number have disappeared from one cause or another. In the present chapter I give a summary description of these, which may serve as a convenient hand-list. I had thought of preparing drawings to a scale uniform with that adopted on these plates—it is unfortunate that there is not a uniform scale adopted in Petrie's plates—but I found that many of the drawings will not bear enlarging, as the ornamental detail of the crosses is not indicated with sufficient definiteness. I must, therefore, content myself with references to Petrie's plates. For convenience of reference in the subsequent parts of this work the slabs are numbered consecutively with the foregoing list of those still extant.

The following numbers in Petrie's collection are still extant; the figures in brackets are the references to numbers of the present collection. The list may be useful for those using Petrie's work :—

1 (probably 73), 2 (53), 3 (133), 7 (104), 8 (5), 11 (108), 12 (116), 19 (125), 20 (75), 21 (probably 2), 22 (30), 23 (121), 24 (91), 25 (probably 203), 26 (59), 27 (41), 29 (70), 30 (120), 31 (196), 32 (195),

[1] There are two numbered 103, which brings the total of actual illustrations up to 180 : but of these Nos. 100 and 143 represent the same slab, as do Nos. 97 and 144 ; and three (Nos. 86-88) represent the High Cross of King Flann and its inscribed panels.

35 (102), 36 (110), 39 (107), 40 (132), 41 (69), 42 (86), 43 (27), 45 (25), 47 (117), 49 (22), 51 (93), 52 (probably 3), 53 (23), 54 (21), 56 (112), 57 (114), 59 (26), 61 (101), 62 (63), 63 (65), 66 (probably 9), 68 (78), 69 (61), 72 (51), 74 (109), 76 (92), 77 (126), 78 (166), 79 (94), 80 (85), 83 (141), 84 (54), 89 (97), 90 (168), 92 (29), 93 (6), 94 (176), 95 (81), 97 (157), 99 (88), 100 (188), 101 (156), 103 (119), 103*a* (136), 105 (192), 106 (98), 107 (55), 112 (180), 115 (128), 117 (147), 123 (96), 124 (174), 126 (171), 127 (163), 130 (162), 131 (145), 132 (149), 133 (150), 135 (202), 136 (146), 137 (140), 138 (142), 140 (137), 141 (189), 143 (188), 144 (157), 145 (12), 147 (152), 148 (193), 149 (153), 150 (190), 151 (179), 152 (154), 153 (13), 155 (95), 158 (191), 159 (10), 160 (24), 162 (159), 166 (204), 167 (8), 169 (20), 172 (185), 173 (197), 177 (169), 179 (131)—that is, one hundred and four in all, counting together Nos. 100 and 143, and 97 and 144, both of which pairs represent one slab. Nos. 10, 55, 91, 108–111, 122, 129, 175, are not at Clonmacnois; Nos. 86–88 represent the cross of King Flann; the remaining slabs are missing. They are as follows:—

*208. (Petrie, No. 4.) A slab with +COLMAN in one line, and underneath it ᚃᚔᚂᚔᚂᚔ ᚓᚁᚔᚁᚔᚁᚔ, read reversely *bocht*, "poor." The loss of this slab is very regrettable, as it was the only scrap of Ogham writing known to have been associated with Clonmacnois. The epithet, too, is remarkable.

*209. (Petrie, No. 5.) A plain Latin cross with a circle surrounding the centre. In the two lower cantons the name FORCOI.

210. (Petrie, No. 6.) Celtic cross with looped ends not unlike that of Maichtech, No. 104. Inscription, crossing the upper part of the stem, COLMAN. Fragment only, containing about half the cross.

211. (Petrie, No. 9.) A slab inscribed [OR D]O DITHRAIB said to be "built into the wall of Temple Dowling" at Clonmacnois. I could not find it.

212. (Petrie, No. 13.) Plain Celtic cross, with the inscription COMGÁN.

*213. (Petrie, No. 14.) Celtic cross with the intersections

invecked, the base pointed and containing a triquetra. A circular ornament, indefinitely drawn, in the middle of the cross. Inscription above, OR̄ DO L̄ÓN.

*214. (Petrie, No. 15.) Celtic cross with looped ends (like the Maichtech cross already referred to), except to the base, which is plain. Inscription given as ROEIN, which can hardly be right.

*215. (Petrie, No. 16.) A plain single-line cross inside a single-line margin. Inscription, THUTGUI, or possibly THUTGAL.

*216. (Petrie, No. 17.) Two-line Latin cross inside a two-line margin; joints mitred. Inscription illegible.

217. (Petrie, No. 18.) Celtic cross, *fitchée*. Inscription above OR DO . . DO(?) B . . . D, much flaked.

218. (Petrie, No. 28.) Two-line Greek cross in a panel with a lozenge on the intersection and corner-pieces; of the same general type as No. 66, though differing in detail. Inscription given as DOICTHCR (probably DOICTHECH, as suggested in the text).

219. (Petrie, No. 33.) A cross resembling No. 38; but with a one-line margin, a two-line circle surrounding the intersection, and diagonals crossing the panels and joining adjacent terminals of the cross. Inscription, ORTHAMACH.

220. (Petrie, No. 34.) A design resembling No. 55, with a third line on the surface of the cross itself, expanding at the intersection into a lozenge, and diagonals added as in the preceding example. Inscription, MAL . . . .

221. (Petrie, No. 37.) A plain Greek cross of two lines without ornament; one arm broken away. Inscription, CÚMARA. The reversed accent is peculiar.

222. (Petrie, No. 38.) Angle of a two-line panel, with the inscription, ORIT AR CLE . . ., which is probably incorrectly copied.

223. (Petrie, No. 44.) A plain two-line Latin cross; two crosslets *pattée* lying horizontally above. The inscription is given as RÁRCEN, the second R having apparently lost its diagonal stroke. The restoration, OR̄ AR CENNEOIG, suggested in the letterpress, is clearly impossible if the stone be correctly drawn; the initial O would show some trace, and the name would not naturally project so far beyond the cross as CENNEOIG written in one line. Probably the inscription is a single name, incorrectly copied.

224. (Petrie, No. 46.) Quadrate Celtic cross inside a Greek fret-pattern, resembling No. 117, but without the spiral terminals below. The inscription is given as ORO A[R] . . . . ꝺhn in two lines. The unusual abbreviation used for OROIꝺ strikes me as a suspicious point about this transcript.

*225. (Petrie, No. 48.) A stone with a small plain cross of two short lines, and the inscription, MAel oenA, in two lines. The Ae is a ligature.

226. (Petrie, No. 50.) Upper sinister corner of a cross of design identical with No. 52, save that the quadrant corner-pieces are omitted, and the stepped terminals drawn with one line, not two. Inscription, $\overline{\text{OR}}$ AR . . . MAMA . . ., in two lines.

227. (Petrie, No. 58.) A cross identical with Nos. 114, 115, and having the inscription, OR ꝺO [C]hARꝺhAC[h], in two lines above.

*228. (Petrie, No. 60.) Plain Latin cross defined by a double-line margin, and the inscription, $\overline{\text{OR}}$ ꝺO ꝼeRAȝAn, running along its sinister side.

229. (Petrie, No. 64.) Fragment of a cross like No. 34, without the central lozenge. Inscription, eꝺꝺbR . . . ., a curiously Saxon-looking name.

230. (Petrie, No. 65.) Corner of a four-line cross in a double-line margin (?); the sketch is clearly incorrect. Inscription, +AnꝺO . . .

231. (Petrie, No. 67.) A cross resembling No. 78 without the surrounding circle. Inscription, ꝼeRȝus.

232. (Petrie, No. 70.) Cross identical with No. 35, and inscription, . . . Anȝe . . . .

233. (Petrie, No. 71.) Cross identical with No. 48, and inscription, . . . ıll.

234. (Petrie, No. 73.) Another cross identical with No. 48, and an inscription running along the outside of the top and sinister sides. Only the last four letters, . . AlAR, seem legible.

235. (Petrie, No. 75.) Cross resembling that on No. 89, but with a small round projection depending from the middle of the base. Inscription, ꝺoicꝺheȝ, curving round the head.

236. (Petrie, No. 81.) Cross resembling No. 193, but with a blank centre. Inscription, ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ ᛗᚪᛖᛚ ᛒᚱᛁᛊᛏᛖ.

237. (Petrie, No. 82.) This cross must have belonged to the family now represented by Nos. 156, 157, and, as it is one of the few stones in the series that can be dated from the inscription, its loss is most regrettable. The inscription is given as suibine mc mailae humai in the drawing, but in Petrie's letterpress ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ suibine, &c. (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 328). See fig. 15, page 97, below.

238. (Petrie, No. 85.) A cross much resembling No. 54, but with a knot in the lozenge-shaped centre. Inscription, ... ᚷᚷᚪᚾ; the commencement is broken off.

239. (Petrie, No. 96.) The inscription only is given by Petrie, and is copied by his editor from the *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 328, with the statement that it is accompanied by a cross in its form and ornamental detail exactly the same as that of Suibine mac Mailae-hUmai. The inscription was ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ corbriV chrVmm. In the same passage Petrie quotes the still extant *Tadgan* stone, No. 157, as another example. The editor has first confused this with the quite different *Dubcenn mac Tadggan* (No. 240, below) stone, and secondly, forgetting that the *Tadgan* stone already has a place in the series (No. 144), has manufactured another slab out of Petrie's quotation, and inserted it as No. 97. Comparison with the original passage in *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, and the corresponding sections in the letterpress of *Christian Inscriptions*, will make this obvious.

240. (Petrie, No. 98.) A cross resembling No. 180, but with a five-line stem and key-pattern in all five expansions. Apparently there were two inscriptions, the one superadded to the other: they were according to Petrie:—

ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ conaing	ᛗᚳ conghail
ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ ᚦu	bcen
ᛗ thad	ᚷᚷᚪᚾ

—See fig. 16, page 98, below.

241. (Petrie, No. 102.) Fragment with the stem of a three-line cross and blank looped semicircular terminal. Inscription, ... ᚪᚦᚩᚷᚷ. The first letters of the inscription are broken off.

242. (Petrie, No. 114.) A very curious stone bearing three crosslets *pattée fitchée*, one of them enclosed in a space singularly like a medieval shield. Inscription, . . . ꝺellach.

243. (Petrie, No. 116.) Seven-line cross of the type of No. 193; all expansions blank. Like No. 241, this stone bore two inscriptions given by Petrie as:—

ōr ꝺo	chathul u . . ug
ōr	ꝺo bene
[ꝺi]	cht

244. (Petrie, No. 118.) Three-line cross, with circular expansion at the centre, and one terminal left having a semicircular expansion: all blank. Inscription, ōr ꝺu ꝺoraiꝺ.

*245. (Petrie, No. 119.) A very similar cross, but the central expansion is relatively smaller. Inscription, ōr ꝺu ꝺonaeꝺan. The æ is a ligature.

246. (Petrie, No. 120.) A cross enclosed in a circle; the cross consists of four bands, entwined two and two, with a small circle entwined with them: a most effective design. The terminals have semicircular expansions. Inscription, +rechtar . . The suggested restoration, *Rechtabra*, is impossible, if the cross be correctly drawn.

247. (Petrie, No. 121.) A cross resembling that of Dubinse (No. 110), which, with the inscription ꝺumaꝺa[ch], is enclosed in a two-line margin.

248. (Petrie, No. 125.) A very peculiar variety of the class consisting of Greek crosses in square panels. The present cross is quadrate, and has a small square at the centre: half this design is at the terminals, which are joined by the two-line margin; there appears therefore to be a notch in each terminal. Round the device runs, in addition, a single-line margin. The inscription is ferɡal.

249. (Petrie, No. 128.) A beautiful and most peculiar cross: fortunately O'Neill has also given a sketch of it, and corroborates Petrie's decipherment. When complete it had a circular central, and looped *square* terminal expansions. The centre had in the

middle a square, surrounded by four lozenges at the roots of the arms, head, and base of the cross; each of these five spaces had a knot in the centre. There were also elaborate knots on the arms extending into the square expansions. The inscription filled all four cantons: the two lower cantons alone remained, reading [OR D]O MUIRGUS [. . .] DEIC, where . . DEIC is evidently the end of a patronymic: the suggestion in Petrie's letterpress that it stands for *Deicolae* is inadmissible. The knot-work on the stem was curiously irregular; but both Petrie and O'Neill agree in the details. Graves, No. 29. Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 93 (an unfinished drawing, omitting the cross).

250. (Petrie, No. 134.) Fragment apparently of a five-line cross with semicircular expansions inside a border, thus resembling Nos. 184, 202. The inscription is . . . LAITH . . ., which also is curiously like that in the fragment No. 202, above. The latter is drawn beside the present slab in Petrie: it is difficult to resist the suspicion that (like Nos. 100 and 143 in the same work) they represent one and the same stone in different stages of detriment.

251. (Petrie, No. 139.) A cross resembling No. 148, but with the arms of the triskelion reversed, and the terminals of the stem (not the arms) looped. I am doubtful of the accuracy of both details. Inscription, OR DO MUIREDACH.

252. (Petrie, No. 142.) Lower part of a cross resembling No. 154, with the stem terminals looped. As in the preceding example, I am doubtful if this be correct. Inscription, [C]OſCRACH.

253. (Petrie, No. 146.) A fragment of a very beautiful cross; it is a development of the type of the *Dainéil* monument, No. 168, into a very elaborate knot-work. The loose end in the upper sinister canton, and some other indications, show that the knot is incorrectly deciphered. The inscription is ꝼOGARTA[CH].

254. (Petrie, No. 154.) Three-line cross with circular central, semicircular terminal, and heart-shaped basal expansion. Inscription, OR DO MAEL [EO]AN.

*255. (Petrie, No. 156.) A square containing a remarkable diaper of small crosses, and the inscription, TIRUCIſT or TIMUCIſT.

256. (Petrie, No. 157.) A cross resembling No. 191, but with blank terminals. Inscription, [OR] DO CHÁIMIG.

257. (Petrie, No. 161.) A plain Greek cross surrounded by two circles—one round the terminations, the other half way to the intersection. Inscription fractured, LET . . . .

258. (Petrie, No. 163.) An elaboration of the type of the *Marcus* cross, No. 79, with a circular expanding centre containing a crosslet *pattée*, cantoned with small triangles. Inscription, THOMAS.

259. (Petrie, No. 164.) A very peculiar circular device: three concentric circles from which project four arms with square expanding heads, between which runs a circular band bearing rich knot-work. No inscription.

260. (Petrie, No. 165.) A long slab resembling, but larger than, No. 204, and without the panel and floriation. The inscription ran down the dexter side in two lines, but seems to have been defaced. Petrie read, OR DO . . . . UO . . . M . . . . UIM ICAIER[I]AD M LECSA.[1]

261. (Petrie, No. 168.) Fragment bearing the letters MACL . . . (in the letterpress, MAEL . . .).

262. (Petrie, No. 170.) A slab bearing a long inscription in three lines, as follows, OR DO AEO MC BIBRIA MC CAIDG HUI CELLAICH CA RIG HUMAIE.[2] In the letterpress AEO is correctly emended to AED, and CAIDG to TAIDG. The emendations of BIBRIA to BRIAN, and of CA to DO, are less certain.

*263. (Petrie, No. 171.) Lower part of a seven-line cross with expanding looped terminals, more than semicircular. Inscription, [OR D]O RIACAN . . . [ICORIP?].

264. (Petrie, No. 174.) Seven-line equilateral cross, with expanding circular centre and looped semicircular terminals. The ornamentation of the expansions is too summarily indicated to give any information as to its nature. Inscription, +OR D in the upper dexter canton. No trace of other letters discovered.

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[1] "A prayer for . . . . by whom this stone was made."

[2] "A prayer for Aed, son of Bibria (?), son of Tadg, grandson of Cellach, for the King of Ui Maine."

265. (Petrie, No. 176.) Three-line cross, circular central expansion, containing triskelion and blank terminal expansions. Inscription, ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ ᛗᚪ[ᛖᚳ ᛗᚻ]ᛁᚳᚻᚳ. The dexter side was broken off.

266. (Petrie, No. 178.) Five-line cross, with looped terminal, and circular central expansions, all containing key-patterns. Inscription, + ᚦᚩ ᚳᛖᛗᛖᚦᛁᛊ. The initial cross is *pattée*, with a fine line drawn round it.

267. I have found a record of an otherwise unknown cross-slab from Clonmacnois in one of O'Neill's plates. It is a simple cross of two lines, not unlike the cross of Finnachta, No. 25, but with a lozenge at the centre. The inscription is ᚦᚩ ᚳᚻᚢᚪᚳᚻᚪᚳ, in two lines above.

268. (Petrie, No. 113.) This seems to have been a quern-stone adapted as a memorial by adding a peculiar marginal pattern of zigzags and wavy lines, and the inscription, ᛊᛖᚳᚻᚾᚪᛊᚪᚳᚻ. It is said in Petrie to be in the Royal Irish Academy collection: Mr. Coffey, the keeper of the collection, informs me that he cannot find a trace of it.

269. (Petrie, No. 104.) Three-line cross with circular central expansion containing a triskelion, and semicircular terminals containing a key-pattern. Inscription, ᚩᚱ ᚦᚩ ᚳᚻᚩᛚᛗᚪᚾ.

270. (Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 90.) A slab cut to a circular shape (like a quern-stone), 1 foot 9½ inches in diameter, bearing a single-line cross inside a single-line square panel, having stepped corner-pieces to the cross and margin, and also stepped arm-ends.

271. (Du Noyer, vol. vi, plate 91.) A large square slab, on which is a circle, divided by the vertical and horizontal diameters into four quarters. In each quarter a circle, containing a cross *pattée* with bifid ends (i. e. an eight-pointed "Maltese" cross).

272. The Bishop of Meath, in 1684, visited Clonmacnois, and recorded what he saw in a short note in the "Bishops' Book" at Ardbraccan, printed in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, Ser. II, vol. i, pp. 447, 448. Among the objects described is what appears to be an otherwise unrecorded monumental slab. The bishop's rendering of the inscription is past doctoring; it is "Iah an Shanaly Morertagh O Murry aspug Clone Kean Mee,"

alleged to mean "The sepulchre of Murtagh O Murray bp̄ of Clone, Head of Meath."

Besides the above, there are some crosses in Petrie which I have already tentatively equated to fragments in the present collection. These are, therefore, not numbered separately in this list, though they call for description here :—

(*a*) *Petrie, No. 1 (see No. 73). Greek cross of three lines, in square panel of two lines. Inscription, ᚋᚐᚃᚑᚋᚋ.

(β) *Petrie, No. 21 (see No. 2). Celtic cross of the type of No. 115, but with two lines, not three, in the circle. Inscription, ᚑᚏᚑᚔᚈ ᚪᚏ ᚏᚓᚋᚋ . . . The second ᚏ has been omitted by the engraver, and inserted above.

(γ) Petrie, No. 25 (see No. 203). The inscription, ᚋᚐᚏᚈᚋᚋ, with no cross.

(δ) Petrie, No. 52 (see No. 3). Small initial cross *pattée*, followed by ᚑᚏ ᚇᚑ ᚋᚐᚓᚃ ᚋᚐᚏᚓ in two lines.

(ε) Petrie, No. 66 (see No. 9). A very peculiar cross, consisting of a Celtic cross, founded on a triple-line Latin cross as a core, which is prolonged beyond the terminations of the arms of the Celtic cross to meet a two-line trapezium margin. The inscription looks like ᚳᚏᚏᚄᚄ, but is read ᚳᚏᚏᚋᚋ. I do not think that either cross or inscription is correctly deciphered.

III.—THE SLABS AND CROSSES.

We have now described all the cross-slabs existing or known to have existed in the cemetery at Clonmacnois, and it remains to enter upon a more exhaustive analysis of these memorials than has been attempted in the rough classification on which the arrangement in the plates has been based.

If no very definite results proceed from such an analysis, the reason must be partly attributed to the absence of trustworthy materials for comparison. No one has yet arisen to accomplish for Ireland what Mr. Romilly Allen, in his magnificent work on *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, has done for the sister kingdom; the present collection may be put forward as a contribution to such a work, but it cannot take the place of a complete corpus of the sculptured stone monuments of the Early Irish Church.

The present chapter is devoted to a study of the crosses: but before entering upon this examination a few words must be said about the slabs themselves.

These are granite or limestone flags, on an average about three inches thick. Only one example (No. 135) is found of a stone that might be described as a rounded boulder being used for the purpose. They are capable of classification into two main divisions—those intended to stand upright like an ordinary modern gravestone, and those intended to lie prostrate on the grave.

The criterion of the class to which to assign any given stone is of course the presence or absence of a blank butt for burial in the earth. There can be no question, for instance, that the stone of Mael-Micheil, No. 10, was meant to stand upright, or that all the slabs on Plate VIII were intended to lie prostrate. A few are ambiguous: the stone of Ferchomus, No. 5, might, if well wedged with smaller stones, be made to stand upright, or it might be left prostrate; and in a large number of instances the fracture of the base makes it impossible to decide to which class the stone should be assigned.

It might justly be pointed out that in the damaged state in which the majority of the slabs have come down to us, and having regard to the extreme irregularity of their outline, it is impossible to say that *any* stone was ever intended to lie prostrate, and that probably all were intended originally to stand upright. The most cogent answer to this is offered by Plates VI–X, bearing the crosses inscribed within square panels. It is remarkable that not a single one of this type of cross shows any indication of having been meant to stand upright; it would seem that contemporaneously with the use of panelled crosses of this type there was a fashion for comparatively small slabs lying prostrate on the graves. A glance through the plates will show that as a rule the prostrate stones are in the majority through all the types, but that examples of upright stones are to be found in all the other classes. It is to be remarked that the majority of those in which the triskelion or tetraskelion forms the central pattern of the cross were upright-standing stones.

The *shape* of the slabs calls for brief notice. Here again it might be said that, owing to the vicissitudes through which the memorials have passed, the original shape cannot be recovered with even plausible certainty. This of course may at once be conceded as an obvious fact in the majority of instances. But there are not wanting indications that, in some cases at least, the irregularity in the outline of the slabs is no mere effect of time or accident, but was characteristic of the memorial from the first. Note, for example, how the dexter margin of the lines of writing in No. 13 follows the line of the adjacent edge of the stone: compare No. 17 on the same plate, the inscription on which is so disposed (even to the division of the word *do*) as to fit exactly the shapeless space afforded by the slab. It would be a curious accident if No. 59 were broken so as exactly to spare the lettering: far more reasonable is it to suppose that the lettering was fitted into the available space. Notice also how the last letters of the inscriptions Nos. 63 and 68 have been cramped to fit into the narrowing space between the cross and the margin of the stone. It is unnecessary to multiply examples further; these will suffice to show that even when new the majority of the slabs at Clonmacnois were of more

or less irregular outline, and the engravers did not trouble to reduce them to shape.

There are, however, exceptions to this general rule. Some of the *standing* gravestones have rounded tops, like the normal shape of an ordinary modern stone. Such are Nos. 10, 24, and 77, and perhaps 25, 97, and 125. In others (Nos. 31, 88, 112) a pointed top seems to have been intended; and in others a flat top (Nos. 149, 150 (?), 154). In considering the shape of these slabs it must be remembered that the lower part was meant to be buried in the earth, and naturally the engraver would not take the trouble to shape the concealed base very accurately.

In some slabs, unquestionably of later date than the majority of the series, a rectangular outline has been given to the stone. These are the standing slab No. 33 (which tapers slightly towards the base), and the recumbent slabs Nos. 204, 205, 207. The first of these has a triangular base, to fit the floriation at the bottom of the cross. One coffin-shaped slab, tapering conspicuously from top to bottom, is the now lost stone ε. The slab No. 190 is of rectangular shape, but this must be ascribed to the vandalistic masons, who built it into the wall of the cemetery, and, in trimming it for the purpose, injured the arms of the cross.

Even the altar-slabs are of irregular outline, as will be gathered from an inspection of the few scattered through the plates.

The crosses with which the slabs are sculptured may be analysed with respect to their form, and their ornamental treatment and decoration.

The *form* of the crosses may be divided into two classes: the Greek, in which all four arms are equal; the Latin, in which the base of the cross is prolonged, and the head is equal to, or a little longer than, the side arms. Slab No. 16 seems to present us with a third class, the saltire cross (×): but this may be merely a Latin cross drawn crookedly. In any case it is an isolated example (rendered a little uncertain by the fact that the stone has disappeared), and it need not again be referred to.

Leaving out this single example, therefore, we find, on further examination, that these two all-comprising classes are capable of further subdivision, the criteria consisting of certain additional

members—square or circular panels—which form essential parts of the scheme. In all I count ten sub-classes, represented in diagram in the accompanying figures, and to be described as follows:—

Fig. 1*a*.—Greek Crosses.

Class A.—*Greek Crosses.*

Sub-class (i) Plain cross, Nos. 17, 19, 24, 32, 33, 168, 199.

„ (ii) Cross in square panel, Nos. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 73.

„ (iii) Cross in circular panel, *terminals inside*, Nos. 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 159, 198.

„ (iv) Cross in circular panel, *terminals outside*, Nos. 75, 78, 85, 86.

„ (v) As in (iv), inside square panel, Nos. 43, 45, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.

Fig. 2.—Latin Crosses.

Class B.—*Latin Crosses.*

Sub-class (vi) Plain cross, Nos. 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

„ (vii) Cross in rectangular panel, Nos. 54, 169, 204, 205, 206, 207.

Sub-class (viii) A circle round the centre, Nos. 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 116, 121, 122, 124.

„ (ix) As in (viii), inside a rectangular panel, Nos. 117, 118, 120.

„ (x) The circle dwindled to an expansion at the centre, Nos. 111, 125, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, (133), 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 171, 172, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197.

No chronological sequence can *as yet* be deduced from this classification. *Lost* crosses are omitted from the above classification, as are also stones too broken to be certain of their class. In two lost slabs (Nos. 219, 220) a variety of sub-classes (ii) and (v) are to be seen in which the cross is enclosed inside a lozenge-shaped panel, formed by joining the terminals with diagonals, and that inside the more usual square.[1]

Having thus presented the skeleton of the different types of crosses, let us see how the engraver proceeded to clothe them with *ornament*. Very rarely, indeed, is the simple diagrammatic cross given without some attempt to decorate it. The decoration can be considered under two heads:—

(*a*) Ornamental treatment of the essential forms of the cross, or of its members.

(*b*) Addition of extraneous decoration.

Under (*a*) come the multiplication of the defining lines of the cross or of the auxiliary members; and also the expansion or other special treatment of the terminals or other portions.

Under (*b*) are classed the specimens of knot-work, key, and spiral designs with which the surface of different members is decorated.

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[1] Mr. H. S. Crawford has kindly sent me a photograph of a slab at Fuerty, which shows a similar lozenge panel. I know of no other example.

(*a*) *Ornamental Treatment of the Cross itself.*

A single-line cross is rare, and generally confined to small initial crosses; and still rarer without something to redeem its baldness. It is, however, occasionally found, as in No. 199, or in sub-class (ii) in the lost stones, Nos. 215, 229. It is in the treatment of terminals that the decoration consists. Four varieties are found.

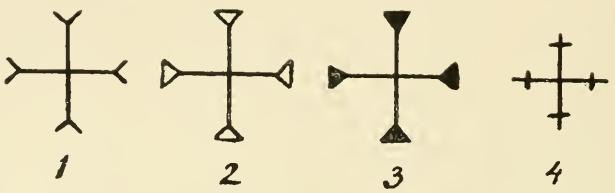


Fig. 3.—Varieties of Terminals in Single-line Crosses.

(1) Cross *fourchée*, Nos. 18, 20, 27.
(2) Cross with triangles at the terminals, No. 19.
(3) Cross *pattée*, Nos. 15, 17, 25.
(4) Cross crosslet, No. 199 (only two terminals).

In almost all the crosses, however, and certainly in every one of any importance, much of the decorative effect is due to the multiplication of the lines of the cross-stem or panel. There are three elements of variation in this part of the subject. These are:—

(1) The *treatment* of the lines.
(2) The *number* and *grouping* of the lines.
(3) The treatment of junctions.

Under (1) we have to notice only the development of the lines into twisted cords, in No. 97.

The majority of the crosses have what has in the catalogue been described as *two-line* stems: that is to say, they are given breadth by being defined by *two* margins. The small crosses in No. 24 illustrate this; but there is a long series of all types.

Three-line crosses are also common, a third line being drawn in the middle, equidistant from the two margins. In sub-class (x) this line invariably widens out into the central and terminal expansions, and the field thus obtained is filled with knot-work or other independent decoration. No crosses of class (vii) are three-line. In No. 23 the central line is broader than the two marginal lines: while in No. 37 a three-line cross is developed into a design which is virtually a single-line cross with expanding centre and ends cut in the middle of a rather broad two-line cross of class (ii).

Four-line crosses are also frequent. Of these there are two kinds: those in which the four lines are equidistant, as in Nos. 50, 58: and the much larger class in which they are arranged two and two along the margin of the cross, as in Nos. 45, 70. Four-line stems are especially characteristic of class (viii). There are two methods of treatment adopted: either the cross is four-line throughout, as in No. 88, or two-line within the circle, as in No. 91. The circle is generally two-line, but is sometimes three-line, as in No. 93, or single-line, as in No. 95.

Five-line crosses are much rarer than the preceding, and, like all the higher multiple-line crosses, are principally found in class (x). There are three methods of arrangement: equidistant lines, as in No. 162; one, three, and one, as in No. 142; two, one, and two, as in No. 143. Example No. 61 is analogous to No. 37, the cross being four-line, with a single-line cross cut in its middle.

Six-line crosses are rare. The lines are always arranged three and three on the margin, as in Nos. 85, 99. Note the different treatment of the part inside the circle in these two crosses.

Seven-line crosses are found only in class (x). The lines are equidistant, as in No. 156; or more frequently arranged two, three, and two, as in No. 138. The middle line is treated in the expansion in five- and seven-line crosses exactly as in three-line.

One *eight-line* cross only is to be found, unfortunately reduced to the tiny fragment No. 158.

There remain three anomalous crosses, in which the stem has a different number of lines from the arms. In one (No. 28) the stem has two lines, the arms one. More curious is No. 31, in which the

stem has one line *less* than the arms, the numbers being three and four: and No. 153, with a two-line stem and four-line arms.

In crosses of multiple lines there are four different ways in which the intersection can be treated. These are:—

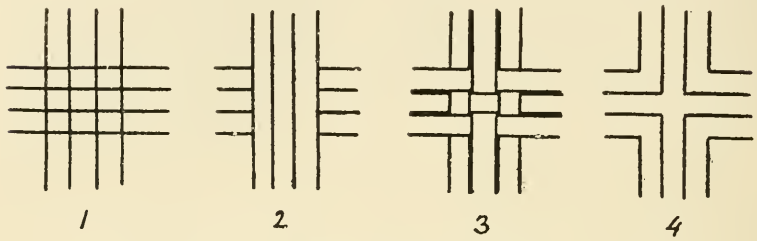


Fig. 4.—Varieties of Intersection.

(1) *Crossing of lines.*—This is not very common, but is occasionally found, as in No. 36.

(2) *Butting of lines.*—There is no instance of this method of treatment at the intersection of the cross itself, but it is not uncommon in the intersection of the crosses of class (ii) with the marginal lines. See, for example, No. 68, and contrast Nos. 60, 65, in which the joints are mitred. The treatment of the concentric circles in No. 50 is analogous.

(3) *Intersecting of lines.*—It is very curious that this method of treatment is extremely rare; there is, in fact, but one instance in the entire series, and that has unfortunately disappeared: it is No. 246. The only analogous example surviving is No. 168.

(4) *Mitreing of lines.*—This is by far the commonest method of forming joints, and examples are plentiful in every class of cross. In several classes (notably x) it is the only method followed of making joints and angles, the sole exception to this rule being the looping of the corners of the terminal expansions. It is hardly necessary to quote examples, as these can easily be found on almost every plate.

The outline of the cross shows a greater range of variation in multiple-line crosses than in those drawn with single lines, as

might be expected. The broadening of the face of the cross affords scope for cutting the angle of intersection in various ways; and, as is shown in Mr. Allen's work on the Scottish stones, the varieties in shape of the crosses can, for the greater part, be considered as variations in the treatment of the angles at the intersection.

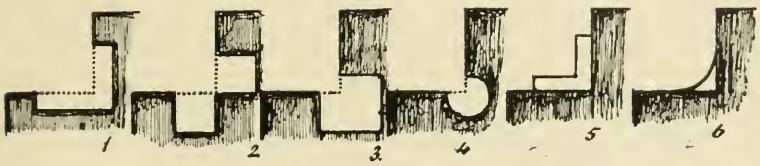


Fig. 5.—Varieties of Intersection Angles in Crosses.

In class (i) (plain Greek crosses) we meet with two types of decorative modification of shape. The one is the cross potent formed by a long rectangular cutting of the side (No. 32), fig. 5, ex. 1; the other the cross quadrate with square expansions, formed by a double-square cutting of the angle (No. 231), fig. 5, ex. 2. The curious freakish variation of the normal form in fig. 33 may also be worth noticing.

Class (ii) (Greek crosses in square panels) presents a greater range of variation. The cross potent (fig. 5, ex. 1) is found in Nos. 39, 41, and the double-square cutting (ex. 2) in Nos. 49, 51. Single-square cutting (ex. 3) is found in No. 46, and invecked or circular cutting (ex. 4) in Nos. 55, 73. The latter, combined with the cross potent, appears in Nos. 56, 57. We also find ornamental treatment by addition as well as subtraction; such are the L-shaped corner-pieces (ex. 5) in Nos. 47, 48, and the concentric circles laid on the intersections in No. 50.

Class (iii) (Greek cross in circular panel) gives us an example of ex. 3 (79), one of ex. 2 (83), and a variety of ex. 3, in which the square expansions become circles (84), and two in which the four sides of the cross are segments of circles (76, 77).

In another (258) we have a cross potent with circular expansions, which in 259 develops to an extravagant size. The beautiful

pattern on the fine cross (No. 81) lies entirely outside this classification.

In class (iv) (Greek crosses in circles, arms extending beyond circles) we have in No. 75 an example in which the right angle at the intersection is cased into a curve (fig. 5, ex. 6): No. 78 affords an example of ex. 2.

Class (v) (same as class (iv), in a square panel). Here the favourite ornamental varieties are ex. 4 (61, 65), combined with the cross potent in No. 64; ex. 6 is also common (Nos. 58, 59). A rich effect is obtained in No. 66 by a combination of the circle and the L corner-pieces (ex. 5). In No. 45 the circle practically becomes a lozenge.

Turning to the Latin crosses, we find that though on the whole they follow the same lines of decorative form-treatment, yet there are peculiarities in some never found in the Greek cross. This is the natural result of the prolongation of the stem of the cross, which seems to mark it out for special treatment. In the Greek cross there is no reason why any one of the four arms should be distinguished from the others.

Class (vi) (plain Latin crosses). The pointed base seen in Nos. 26, 27 is never found in Greek crosses: we meet it again in class (viii). In No. 28 the head of a cross potent degrades to a straight line. The cross in 23 is the only hint we have at the possibility of a multiple-line cross *fourchée*. For the rest, cross 30 is an example of the invecked angles in ex. 4.

Class (vii) (Latin cross in a panel). Cross No. 169 is a variety of ex. 2, the top and bottom expansions not being squares or rectangles. Cross 205 is a true example of this type, though the prolongation of the head causes a slight modification. In 204 there is an octagonal expansion at the centre: and in 54 a lozenge-shaped expansion with semicircular terminals.

In class (viii) ("Celtic crosses") the commonest form is ex. 2; No. 89 is a good example. In No. 88 the cutting at the intersections is curiously blundered. No. 87 shows a pointed base, also seen (though of different form) in Nos. 97, 108; and there are other differences in detail, such as the loops in No. 92, and the spiral base in No. 93. A peculiar base is seen in No. 96,

which also shows oblique cutting in the arms of the cross instead of the usual rectangular treatment. Besides the double square cutting, the single square (ex. 3) is also found, though less commonly: No. 98 is an instance. More frequent is ex. 6, in which the arms are eased into each other by rounding the angles of intersection (see 100, 101, 102). This passes by gradual stages into ex. 4, with curvilinear cutting; it is seen in No. 108, and in the crosses on Plate XVIII. Fig. 122 is a peculiar example, with a circular centre.

Class (ix) (Celtic crosses in rectangular panels) is represented by a very few specimens only, which show no great departure from the types already described. The bases in Nos. 117, 118 may be especially noticed.

Class (x) (Latin cross with expansion at centre, apparently derived by reduction of the circle of a Celtic cross) is large but monotonous. The same form of cross—with circular-expanding centre and semicircular terminals—recurs over and over again, varied only in the treatment of the applied ornament. Fig. 125 offers a transitional type between classes (viii) and (x). Almost invariably the base, and usually the head, of the cross are distinguished by their superior length from the arms. No. 133 is an exceptional example of an equilateral or Greek cross of this class; and Nos. 142, 143 are also curious in having the head slightly shorter than the arms. In Nos. 161, 162, the terminals are triangular; and in No. 164 the basal terminal is square. The terminals are circular in Nos. 165, 166, and the centre is lozenge-shaped in one, circular in the other; a lozenge-shaped centre also appears in No. 163.

An important subdivision of this group of crosses is shown on Plates XXVIII–XXX, in which the terminals are looped at their angles. Occasionally the terminal is a segment of a circle slightly larger than a semicircle: Nos. 140, 185 are examples. The looping everywhere but in the usual place, on the outline of cross 197, is very remarkable; but, as a whole, the looped crosses of class (x) are even more monotonous than those without loops.

(*b*) *Applied Ornament.*

By applied ornament is denoted that which is not essential to the form of the cross or margin. Thus in No. 68 the essential parts of the cross are the square margin, the Greek cross and the circle, all defining class (v). The applied ornament is the central lozenge and the Greek fret. In No. 64, on the other hand, there is no applied ornament at all: the crutched heads define the cross as belonging to type 1 of class (v), and, therefore, are essential to the form of the cross.

Applied ornament can be placed—

On the stone external to the cross (like the circle in No. 190).
On the arms, intersections, or terminals of a cross.
In the cantons.

It may belong to one of the following classes:—

Zoomorphic.—The worms in Nos. 195, 196, are the sole examples.

Phyllomorphic.—The foliations in Nos. 204, 207, and the rosette at the centre of the former are the sole examples.

Symbolic.—Under this head are classed crosslets and swastikas and their varieties.

Skeuomorphic.—Under this head are classed the various knots and key-patterns.

Zoomorphic and Phyllomorphic patterns.—These are always rare on the sculptured slabs of Ireland, and it is not surprising to find them so seldom at Clonmacnois. In the whole series of plates in the *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* I find but one example, outside the worms of 195, 196; this is the figure of a fish at Fuerty (vol. ii, plate viii). That the fish is symbolical we cannot doubt; and it is highly probable that the Clonmacnois worms had also some meaning in the mind of the sculptor—though it is also possible that he was merely attempting to reproduce his recollection of a worm-knot on some Scandinavian monument that he had chanced to see. The phyllomorphic class of ornament is, perhaps, even rarer in Irish

sculpture, and does not appear till a comparatively late date. In accordance with this, we find phyllomorphs appearing only on the very latest stones. It must be noticed, however, that the beautiful slab from Clonburren (Petrie, vol. i, No. 108), is distinctly phyllomorphic in type.

Symbolic patterns.—The use of a small cross to emphasize the intersection of the larger cross is common in class (ii), but rare elsewhere. The crosslet may be perfectly plain, as in 38, 69, or more ornate, as in 37, 41, 49, 56, 61, 70, in which series various types are exemplified; or else it may be indicated by sinkings on the arms, as in 45, 65. The only example of a plain cross in this position in any other class is No. 136, which belongs to class (x).

It is, perhaps, a little curious that the swastika is but once used in decoration in the whole series. This is in a panel in No. 120. The tetraskelion (a swastika with four curved arms) and the triskelion (formed similarly with three arms) are fairly common as ornamentations of the central expansion of class (x)—never elsewhere, with the single exception of 124, where a triskelion occurs on the intersection of a cross of class (viii). The reversed triskelion is shown in a drawing of Petrie's of the now lost 251; but I am inclined to suspect that this is an error. The triquetra, no doubt, is also a symbol, but it can most conveniently be discussed with the other knots in the next section. We may also make a passing reference to the Calvaries at the bases of the two late crosses, Nos. 206, 207, before leaving this section; and to the *Saltire*, which takes the place of the more usual crosslet in 36.

Skeuomorphic patterns, however, comprise by far the largest number of examples of applied ornament in the crosses of Clonmacnois. This term denotes forms of ornament demonstrably due to the structure of the object ornamented. Thus, woven patterns in basket-work are true skeuomorphs; and by an extension of meaning it may be applied to woven patterns occurring anywhere else which have not a demonstrably zoomorphic or phyllomorphic origin. We, therefore, apply it here to those ornaments on the cross-slabs which consist of meandering knots of withy-bands.

The withy-band may be folded in curves or angles without interlacing, or it may be tied, with interlacing, into more or less complicated knot-work. The former is here termed key-pattern, the latter interlacing pattern. There is also a third group, in which the ornament is based on spirals.

The key-pattern is defined by groups of T-shaped lines, straight or diagonal, interlacing with one another in various positions.[1] This is well shown in fig. 6, no. 1, which is a diagram of the ornament on cross No. 103, showing its ultimate derivation from a fret of diagonal lines. A variety of this pattern, adapted to fill curvilinear surface, and with the cross-bars oblique to the stems of the T's, is seen in the margin of No. 81. The latter is obviously derived from a similar fret of diagonals drawn across four parallel horizontal lines, as shown in fig. 6, no. 2.

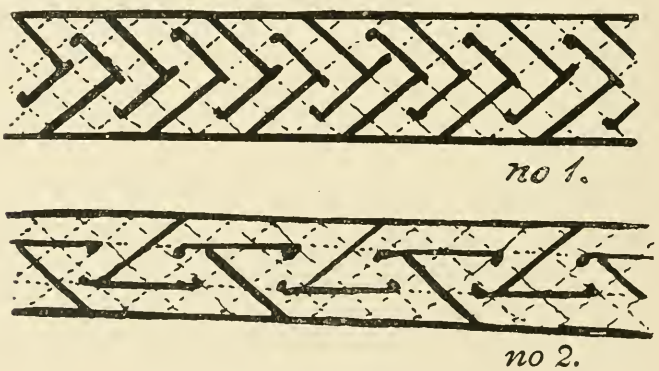
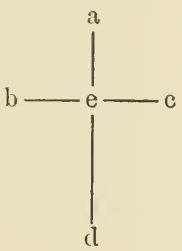


Fig. 6.—Continuous Key-Patterns.

The remaining examples of key-pattern are found in the terminals and central expansions of crosses of class (x). The terminal ornaments are merely one-half the central, so that for purposes of classification they can all be considered together. In the following analysis the numbers represent the cross; where it

[1] This very simple definition applies only to the comparatively elementary patterns presented by these cross-slabs. For an elaborate study on the possibilities of the key-pattern, reference should be made to Mr. Romilly Allen's work on the Scottish stones, already quoted (pp. 308–363).

is necessary to distinguish the various terminals and the central pattern, they are represented by small letters, which distinguish the members of the cross, thus :—



The patterns now to be considered are derived from concentric circles, two or three in number, and their vertical, horizontal, and oblique (45°) diameters. Variety is obtained (*a*) by omitting certain of these members; (*b*) by geminating certain; and (*c*) by altering the manner in which they are stopped. It will be found that all the key-patterns used in the existing cross-slabs of Clonmacnois[1] are included in the following catalogue, accompanying the diagram in fig. 7, p. 67.

1. Two concentric circles: vertical and horizontal diameters triple, oblique diameters single. The whole field divided by the central horizontal diameter, the inner circle stopped by it, and by the oblique diameters. Oblique diameters stopped by vertical and horizontal (180 abc, 196).

2. Similar to the last, except that the horizontal diameter is stopped by the inner circle, which produces certain other modifications that can be seen by comparing the two figures (137 e, 142 e, 180 e).

3. The same materials as Nos. 1, 2; the inner circle is stopped by all eight diameters; the diagonals stopped inside the cantons of the verticals and horizontals with nail-heads; the central vertical diameter stopped by the horizontal (188 a).

4. The materials for this key are simpler than in the preceding: there are two concentric circles, one vertical and three horizontal

[1] The records of lost stones cannot be considered, as in these minute details they are not trustworthy.

diameters. The inner circle is stopped by the two principal diameters, and the vertical diameter is broken off with a circular segment struck from a centre outside the design. This device is not elsewhere found in the series (194 abc).

5. This is similar to the last, save that the design is turned through a quadrant: the circle is only once broken; the stops of the horizontal diameter are straight, and recurve so as to suggest a third concentric circle (140 e, 141 e, 187 ee, 190 e).

5*a* (not drawn). This is a slight modification of 5, the differences consisting in carrying the horizontal diameter through, and stopping the vertical, exactly as is done in No. 3 (175, 192 d).

6. In this example all four diameters (except the vertical) are tripled, but the principal diagonal diameters are suppressed, and of the outer diagonals alternating sections are chosen and stopped inside the cantons of the cross with nail-heads. The dotted lines will make this clear (147 a, 174, 192 a).

7. Though a group of *three* concentric circles has been suggested by one or two of the preceding patterns (notably No. 5), this is the first that we meet with in which extensive sections of three circles are employed in the device. It is the commonest of all the key-patterns employed at Clonmacnois. The diagonal diameters are not used, but the three verticals and three horizontals are employed. It occurs in 140 abcd, 141 abcd, 142 ad, 173, 178, 179, 183, 185, 187 d, 189 bc, 190 d, 191 abcd, 192 bc, 194 d, 195 abcd.

7*a*. A variety of type 7 is to be seen in No. 182. This is interesting, as the vertical diameter is suppressed, and its place taken by two parallel lines. The innermost circle is broken so as to make a mitred joint with these lines. There is no other example of this variety. Another variety is seen in 184, where the free ends that curve upon one another are joined together.

8. This pattern is a variant of fig. 3, with three circles used—indeed, a fourth is suggested. Comparison between the two figures will show to what extent elaborations are introduced. It is found in 155 abcd.

9. Represents the diagram on which the three patterns following are founded. A parallelogram *ABCD* is drawn, having

the horizontal diameter of the circle as one of its diagonals, and intersecting with its angles the vertical diameter at points between the centre and circumference of the circle. The diagonals of the circle parallel to the sides of the parallelogram *EF*, *GH* are also utilized.

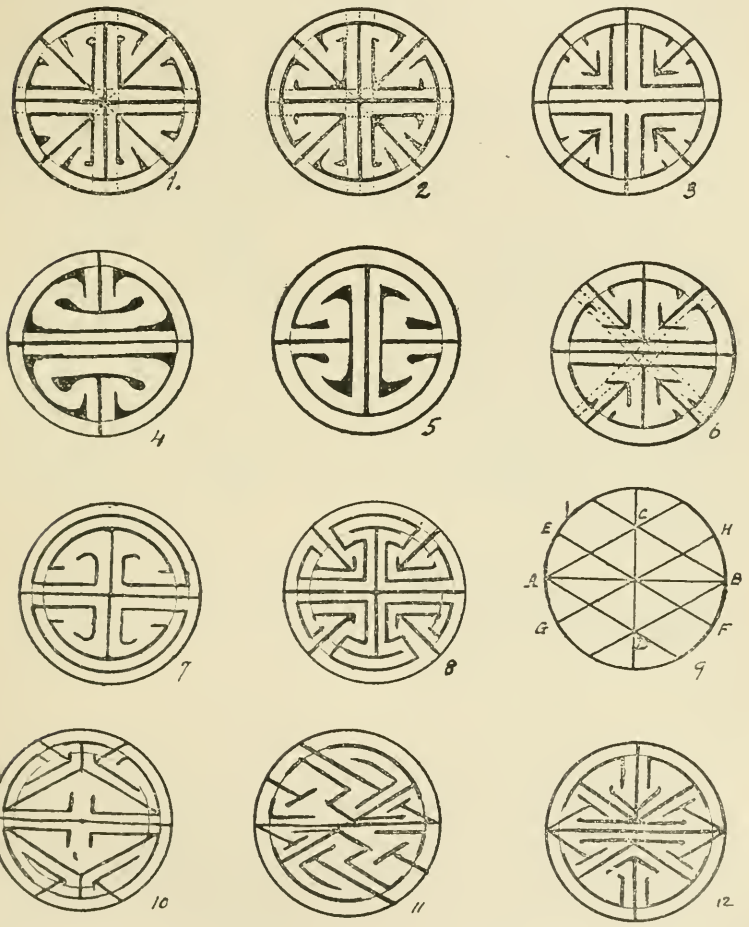


Fig. 7.—Varieties of Key-Pattern in Central Expansions and Terminals.

10. This is a diagram of the pattern in No. 172. It is modified in the original, as the terminal containing it is not quite a semicircle, and the slope of the oblique lines is rather different

from that which in the diagram is adopted for the sake of uniformity. The principal modifications introduced are the use of a second circle and the omission of the diagonals.

11. In this diagram the pattern in 156a is analysed. Here no use is made of the vertical diameter; the others are all used, and there is a suggestion of triplicating the horizontal and diagonal diameters.

12. In this diagram, which represents 156e, 157abcd, 207 *bis*, the same ground is used, with two circles. The vertical and horizontal diameters are triplicated, as are also the oblique diameters, with this difference, that the subsidiary lines are one on each side of the principal line in the former, both on the same side in the latter.

We need do no more than mention the rude suggestions of similar patterns in Nos. 54, 139, 142 bc, and 154, which are evidently unskilful attempts to imitate these devices by engravers inexpert in the art of setting them out geometrically. No. 139 may also be considered as a variant of pattern 7, with the space inside the third circle partially voided. I cannot decipher 188 bc satisfactorily.

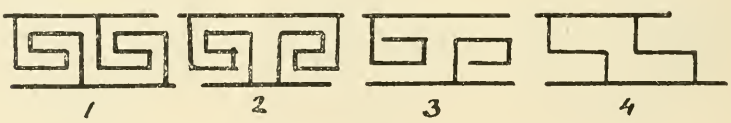


Fig. 8.—Varieties of Marginal Frets.

The marginal Greek fret-patterns are of the simplest possible type. There are two varieties shown in fig. 8, ex. 1, 2. These are found respectively in 120, 119. They degenerate into ex. 3, which further deteriorates into ex. 4. Slab No. 117 shows this last degeneration in process. The irregularity of the fret round the border of this memorial is very remarkable. (It has been drawn as regular by Petrie, but O'Neill gives it accurately.) In No. 86 the degeneration is complete.

Spiral patterns, apart from the triskelion and tetraskelion, and the spirals at the bases of certain cross-stems, are rare. The

latter are of two kinds, single-line and double-line. Both varieties appear in the base of No. 93. Except these, the only specimens of spiral ornament are the combinations of C-curves in 156, 157, 188, and 189. The first two of these are identical; and there can be little doubt that the lost stones 237, 239 also showed the same pattern. The ornament in the centre of 188 is a poor imitation of the same design, cut by a workman far inferior to the master who gave us (or rather, alas! our immediate predecessors) the magnificent quartet of slabs just enumerated. No. 189 is a different design. The number of these patterns, therefore, is two only—one on 189, the other on all the rest.

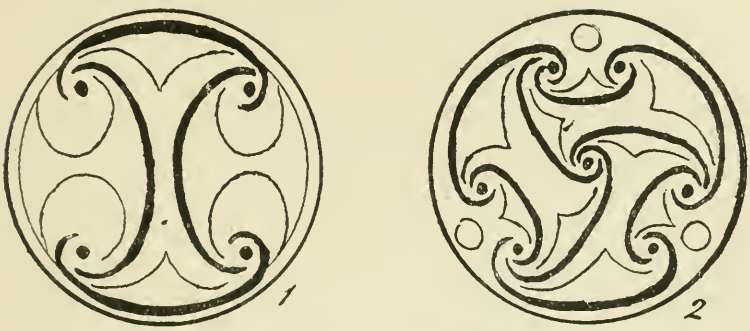


Fig. 9.—Spiral Patterns.

Both these patterns are of similar construction. A number of points are taken as centres, and round them are coiled the ends of C-curves. The essential difference between the two patterns is, that in the one there are four centres, at the angles of a square; in the other seven, six at the angles and one at the centre of a hexagon with alternating long and short sides (fig. 9, ex. 1, 2). The requisite thickness of line, to obtain the alternate hollows and reliefs of the cutting, is made by filling the spaces between the C's with cuspidate curves springing from the ends of the C's and fitted to the curves of those adjoining. These are represented by finer lines in the diagram. As the ornament consists essentially of C's placed alternately direct and reversed, there is necessarily a gap where the concave side is turned outward, in the margin of the pattern. This gap is filled in pattern 1 by a triangle; in pattern 2 by a pellet.

We now come to knot-patterns, which are surprisingly few in number; and of those few still less are of any special elaboration or interest. There are sixteen crosses displaying knot-work in their ornamentation. These are 29, 32, 81, 83, 97, 117, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 162, 163, 164, 168, 189.

Of these, 144 is too much injured for the device to be made out. Only a small portion of the circumference of the circular central expansion, which contained the knot, is left. This must, therefore, be omitted from consideration in discussing the knot-patterns.

The simplest possible knot is a plait of cords interlacing with one another, and joined along the margin of the device. One example of this pattern remains in the four-cord plaits at the terminals of No. 32.

Somewhat analogous in effect is a plait of circular, oval, or lozenge-shaped loops. Such a plait differs, however, essentially from the last: for, in the one case, a moving point, following the line of the cord, does not return to its starting-point before tracing out a large part, if not the whole, of the pattern; in the other case it returns after tracing out one member only. Examples of such loop-plaits will be found in the arms of No. 32 and in 81 e. In both cases they are plaits of three loops. A simple plait of two loops is found in the base of 117. Another example of a different type will be found in 189 a. It consists of two oval loops interlacing, linked by a circular ring, and the whole device adapted to fit into a semicircular space.

Of the remaining patterns, a considerable proportion consist of triquetras, or are based upon that knot. The triquetra is well adapted for filling a triangular space: accordingly, we find it in the pointed base of 29 and 97, and, rather distorted to fill an awkward, flattened surface, in the arms of 145. By placing four triquetras symmetrically with regard to the vertical and horizontal diameter of a square or circular space, and supposing the adjacent loops cut, and the ends of the cords re-tied, so as to connect the separate knots together, we obtain a suitable and effective ornamental pattern for filling a symmetrical space; and that it was appreciated by such of the slab-engravers of Clonmacnois as ventured on knots

at all is shown by its occurrence in 32 e, 147 e, and the curious 164 e.

The Stafford knot also is used fourfold in the same way as the triquetra to fill a circular space in 145 e, 162 e. The treatment, of course, differs from that of the triquetra, as the Stafford knot has naturally two loose ends of cord that can be used for connecting the four knots, while the triquetra, being a complete loop, has to be cut to provide ends for the purpose.

In 143 e a complication is introduced into the pattern last described by coiling the departing cord-end spirally round the entering end before it is allowed to leave the knot.

The remaining knots are more elaborate, and each requires to be treated independently. They are of two classes—plaits and spirals. These are not wholly independent, for, as Mr. Allen has shown in his valuable analysis of cross-patterns, spiral patterns are often derivable from plait-patterns by altering the connexions of adjacent cords, and by suitable interruptions of the intersections in the simple plait.

The elaborate cross in 83 is unfortunately very fragmentary, and, after many attempts, I confess my inability to deal with it satisfactorily. It is evidently derived from an eight-cord plait: but it is also evident from the remaining portion that the artist studied *asymmetry* in designing it. It is, therefore, impossible to restore it, or even to analyse it with any certainty.

In 147 b the artist has founded his device on two interlacing loops—one circular, the other figure-of-eight. These he has made into a curve of one cord by cutting both at the lower dexter intersection, and then cross-tying the two. This will be understood by comparing the two diagrams in fig. 10.

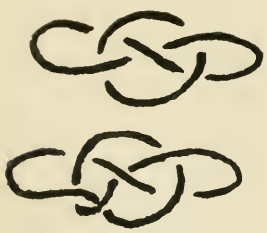


Fig. 10.

The pattern in 147 c is simply two Stafford knots with their loose ends united.

The terminals of 162 contain a very curious pattern, which can hardly be classified with any of the types of ornament into which we have divided the decorations of the Clonmacnois cross-slabs. Its affinity, perhaps, is

closer with the key-patterns already described than with the knots: but it is distinguished from them partly by the comparatively unimportant circumstance that it is distorted to fill a triangular space, but principally by the loops in the middle of the sides of the pattern. On the other hand, it is not a true knot, for if the line be traced out it will be seen that the alternation of crossing over and under, which is absolutely essential to true interlacing patterns, is not preserved. It is a curious and interesting transitional form.

No. 163 e is an instructive example of the derivation of a plait of some elaboration from a series of loops. In this case there are four loops, such as we saw on the arms of 32, and by cutting these, and cross-tying at six of the intersections, the plait in the figure is produced. It will be noticed that the artist has here again

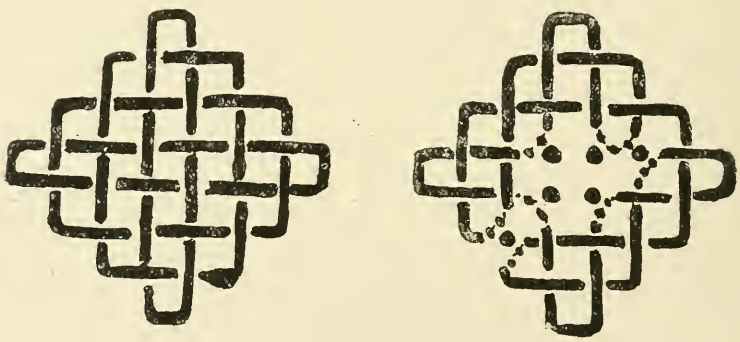


Fig. 11.—Diagram of the Pattern 163 e.

studied asymmetry; and though the knot is by no means difficult to unravel, the greatest care is required in copying it, so as to prevent the possibility of being misled by any preconceptions as to the regularity of the device. Fig. 11 shows the fundamental loops, and by dots the positions of the cuttings.

Of the two spiral devices, one (No. 146), which is a band of two cords bending alternately round each other, is a device that is found elsewhere. It is No. 661 in Mr. Romilly Allen's work, and he enumerates examples from Monifieth, Meigle, and Thornhill, in Scotland; Ripon, Blackwell, Stowe Nine Churches, and Chester-le-Street, in England; Clonmacnois, in Ireland; and

an Irish Psalter (Vit. F. xi. in the British Museum Library). The device is thus a commonplace of Celtic art.

It is otherwise with the beautiful cross No. 81. Examination will show that the device is, from a geometrical point of view, obscured, though artistically it is enhanced, by the double curved lines which unite adjacent arms of the cross, and flow into the lines which form the pattern. Omitting these, it will be seen that essentially the cross is composed of a single withy-band, forming a square, at each corner of which are three spirals, into which the withy-band is knotted.

Fig. 12 is a diagram showing the geometrical basis of this cross, stripped of the angulations and bifurcations that decorate it.

Fig. 12.—One Angle of the Pattern of No. 81.

The pattern in 164 c, to which reference has already been made, is very remarkable. It is drawn out geometrically in fig. 13. Here as usual the circle is divided into four compartments. The second and third contain triquetras, and the third and fourth double spirals shaped to fit the quadrant space provided. The triquetra is cut at the inner angle, and connected with the spiral beside it. The exact details of the crossing of the diameters of the circles cannot be made out, owing to an unfortunate fracture in the very middle of the expansion. It appears, however, as if the upper quadrants are not connected with the lower.

We can only refer here to the heavy loss that has been suffered by the disappearance of two especially beautiful examples of interlacing work, of which drawings will be found in Petrie, Nos. 128, 146.

Fig. 13.—Diagram of the Pattern of 164 c.

The only important class of ornament that has not yet been considered is the diaper, of which but one fragment remains (No. 82, Plate XI.). The centre of Petrie's 128 had a beautiful diaper pattern of lozenges and squares charged with knots, but that has now disappeared.

Besides these there are a number of minor details of ornamentation such as pellets, lozenges, annulets, which are inserted here and there to fill otherwise empty spaces. They are not sufficiently important to call for detailed enumeration. We may, however, make a passing reference to what appear to have been L-shaped corner-pieces, terminating with spirals, in the cantons of No. 29, and to the multiplicity of similar (but plain) corner-pieces in No. 40.

IV.—THE INSCRIPTIONS.

In discussing the inscriptions, the following points have to be considered:—

(1) The position of the inscription relative to other devices on the slab.
(2) The contents of the inscriptions.
(3) Palæography—the forms of the letters.
(4) Philology—the forms of the words.
(5) History—the persons commemorated.

I. *The relative position of the Inscriptions.*—There is a very large variety of possible dispositions of the lettering relative to the cross or other device sculptured on the stone. The inscription may be in one or more lines, which may be horizontal, vertical reading up, or vertical reading down. It may be above, across, below, or beside the device, or it may follow its curve. When tabulated, however, it will be seen that certain dispositions are much commoner than others. This will appear from the following list which, it is believed, is a complete catalogue of the varieties found in both existing and lost slabs. A few which are doubtful, owing to fracture or to the ambiguity inherent in the Greek form of cross, are omitted from the enumeration.

1.—*Horizontal Lines.*

3 with one line, no important cross (10, 18, 261).
7 with two lines, no important cross (5, 6 (?), 7 (?), 15, 20, 21, 208).
1 with three lines, no cross (262).
1 with four lines, no important cross (17).
1 with five lines, no cross (13).
1 with six lines, no cross (14).
26 with one line above cross (27, 39, 41, 50, 57, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 73, 78, 79, 98, 117, 216, 217, 220, 229, 230, 232, 246, 247, 248, 257, 258).

14 with one line through head of cross (26, 88, 91, 94, 95, 97, 109, 110, 163, 210, 215, 223, 238, 253).
4 with one line through base of cross (89, 112, 156, 231).
14 with one line below cross (24, 37, 38, 42, 53, 55, 58, 69, 70, 74, 75, 218, 233, 255).
15 with two lines above cross (or one above and one through head) (19, 46, 51, 59, 81, 90, 92, 107, 114, 119, 122, 224, 225, 226, 227).
1 with two lines in the upper cantons (104).
3 with two lines in the four cantons (102, 244, 245).
1 with two lines in the lower cantons and below the cross (168).
2 with three lines above (or two above and one through head) (93, 213).
3 with three lines in the upper cantons (54, 133, 240).
1 with two lines in the upper, one in the lower cantons (101).
1 with one line in the upper, two in the lower cantons (116).
1 with four lines below cross (77).

2.—*Lines Vertically Downwards.*

3 with one line, no cross (8, 11 (?), 12 (?)).
2 with two lines (22, 23).
5 with one line on dexter side of cross (100, 169, 170, 180, 212).
13 with one line on sinister side of cross (131, 132, 139, 141, 150, 153, 197, 214, 228, 241, 251, 252, 264).
1 with two lines outside the cross (25).
29 with two lines in the cantons (135, 137, 140, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 152, 154, 165, 171, 173, 179, 184, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 204, 249, 254, 256, 263, 265, 266).
2 with two lines in the dexter cantons (149, 260).
2 with two lines in the sinister cantons (157, 162).
3 with three lines in the cantons (variously disposed), (136, 237, 243).
1 with four lines in the cantons (128).

3.—*Lines Vertically Upwards.*

4 with one line on dexter side of cross (29, 99, 125, 187).
1 with one line on sinister side of cross (30).

4.—*Lines of Varying Direction.*

4 following the curve of the cross (113 (?), 121, 159, 235).
5 horizontal, and then turning downward (35, 96, 108, 219, 234).
2 vertically up, and then turning horizontal (56, 120).
1 vertically down, and then turning horizontal (222).

It will be noticed from the foregoing list that comparatively few slabs show the inscription reading upward; and it will further appear from an examination and comparison of the plates that horizontal lines above the cross are specially characteristic of class (viii), above or below of class (ii), and vertical lines in the cantons of class (x).

There is no certain instance of a disposition which is found well exemplified in a number of inscribed cross slabs at Iniscaltra in Lough Derg—namely, with the inscription above the cross, and inverted with respect to it. It is possible that Nos. 85, 86 may be specimens of this method, but, owing to the fracture of the slabs, this is uncertain, and Petrie's drawings are against it. If not, they are simply additional examples of single lines across the base or below it. The lost slab, No. 242, may possibly be another example: in this case the inscription seems to be in the upper cantons and inverted. But here again a fracture makes the question doubtful. There is therefore, as we have said, no certain example.

II. *The Contents of the Inscriptions.*—The monumental inscriptions of the ancient Irish, from the earliest days of Ogham writing, showed a tendency to fall into stereotyped formulae—a circumstance which we cannot but deplore. A collection of monumental epitaphs with the rich predicative matter afforded by the Runic inscriptions would be of untold value for both history and philology; but as such is not available, we must perforce be content with what we have.

The inscriptions at Clonmacnois are all memorial epitaphs, with the possible exception of No. 14, which is also the exception to the rule that all of them are in the Irish language. They

preserve for us the name of the deceased, rarely with any particulars of parentage, occupation, or territorial origin, and generally accompany the name with the request for a prayer, couched in the most laconic possible way. The legible inscriptions are all capable of classification according to the formula adopted, with varieties depending on the abbreviation employed for the formula. The classes are as follows:—

71 with name only (5, 8, 10, 12, 19, 26, 27, 29, 30, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 46, 50, 53, 55, 58, 61, 63, 65, 69, 70, 73, 75, 78, 79, 85, 88, 89, 95 (?), 98, 100, 104, 109, 110, 112, 159, 165, 166, 169 (?), 209, 210, 212, 214, 215, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223 (?), 225, 229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 246, 247, 248, 249, 252, 253, 255, 257, 258, 261, 268).

4 with name and qualification (24, 56 (?), 59, 208).

2 with name and filiation (51, 237).

1 with two names (122).

8 ORO1T AR ×, with name only (2 (?) 54, 93, 95 (?), 117, 119, 120 (?), 146 (?)).

1 ORO1T AR ×, with predication (13).

1 ORIT AR × (222 ?).

1 ORO AR × (224 ?).

6 $\overline{\text{OR}}$ AR × (81, 86, 92, 108, 192, 226).

1 $\overline{\text{OT}}$ AR × (114).

1 ORO1T AR AMMAN × (113 ?).

64 $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DO × (6, 11, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 77, 91, 94, 96, 99, 101, 102, 104, 107, 116, 121, 125, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 154, 157, 162, 168, 174, 179, 180, 181, 187, 189, 190, 191, 193, 195, 211, 213, 217, 227, 228, 236, 239, 240 (bis), 243 (bis), 251, 254, 256, 263, 265, 266, 269).

7 $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DO ×, with filiation (18 (?), 128, 145, 188, 204, 249, 250).

3 $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DO ×, with predication (171, 260, 262).

1 $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DO × AMEN (22).

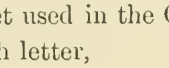
3 $\overline{\text{OR}}$ DU × (97, 244, 245).

1 $\overline{\text{OT}}$ DO × (90).

1 $\overline{\text{OR}}$ × (163).

2 DO × (266, 267)

Certain classes of crosses are associated with certain formulae. Class (ii), for instance, rarely presents more than the simple name, and most of those with the preposition *ar* seem to be found with class (viii). It is very curious that, considering the enormous preponderance of formulae constructed with the preposition *do* (about four times as many as with *ar*), there is not a single instance of *Oroit do* written in full in the whole of the Clonmacnois series.

III. *Palæography of the Inscriptions.*—There were two alphabets in use in ancient Ireland—the Ogham and the Irish character. Of the former, which does not call for discussion here, there is but one example—in the word  , *bocht*, 'poor,' written retroversely on No. 208. The remaining inscriptions are in the Irish character.

The Irish alphabet is derived from the Roman; but the history of its development and introduction into Ireland, and of its adaptation to the Irish language, has not yet been worked out adequately. Fortunately it is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into this difficult subject; we need only take the letters as we find them on the Clonmacnois slabs.

The alphabet used in the Clonmacnois slabs is, with numerous varieties in each letter,

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v,

being the same as the modern Irish language with the addition of q, which is now rejected, though in the Oghamic orthography it had a very important place. It occurs but once at Clonmacnois, in No. 92. v also is no longer used, though it also was a very common letter in Ogham writing. At Clonmacnois, however, it occurs only two or three times, evidently merely as a by-form of u.

In a study which I have made of the forms of the letters on the slabs still existing at Clonmacnois, I have found that certain types are normally grouped together in the several inscriptions. I took o as the letter for comparison, as there are several well-defined forms of this character, and as it is one of the commonest

letters in the inscriptions; and I tabulated the forms of the other letters found in combination with the various types of this. The final result of this investigation was suggestive. It appeared that there are four alphabets, distinguished by the shapes of certain of their letters; and these alphabets are, *on the whole*, kept apart from one another, although it must be noticed that some inscriptions have an intermediate position, and combine forms from one alphabet with those from another.

In fig. 14 the alphabets are tabulated, omitting some intermediate forms.

No. I is the most characteristic. It is distinguished by a *closed* b and p, Roman minuscular **a** and **d** (for the former sometimes an ɑ substituted); ꝼ with short lower stroke, ȝ long and

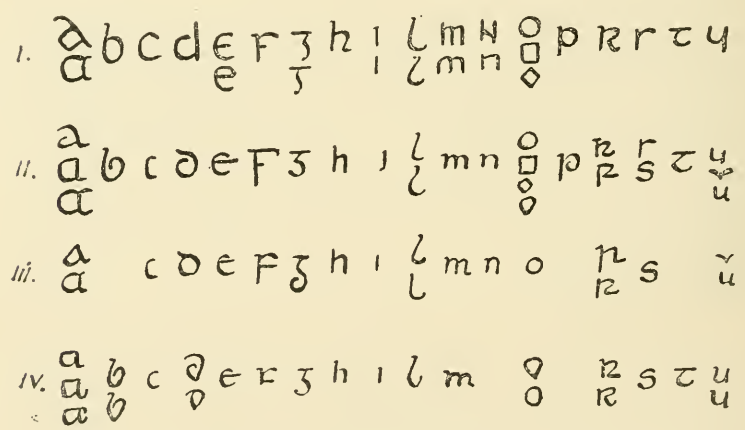


Fig. 14.—The Four Alphabets.

narrow, and lower part sometimes springing from the end of the horizontal stroke: m with no corner finial, or finial vertical; uncial ꝼ used. Good examples of this alphabet occur in 17, 19, 51, 59, 63. It is characteristic of stones with crosses of class (ii) (though many show a transition to alphabet II), and, as a rule, is found on stones which for other reasons one would be inclined to date among the earliest at Clonmacnois. But this rule, as will presently be shown, is not universal.

No. II is more especially associated with class (viii). All the most neatly written inscriptions are in this alphabet. Its special character is an ᵃ with two finials (the **a** is found on one inscription only, No. 102); *open* b, ᵒ, and ᵖ; e with central stroke prolonged (often extravagantly so), ᴿ with the lower stroke horizontal. Both uncial ʳ and capital S are used. The ᵗ generally has an angle in the curve. Nos. 13 (in which, however, the central stroke of the e is not prolonged), 25, 91, 110, 148, are typical examples. No. 18 shows a combination of alphabets I and II.

No. III differs from No. II in the treatment of the ᵒ, which is closed (b and ᵖ do not happen to be found); the ᶠ, in which the lower horizontal is as long as the upper; and the ᶻ, which is slightly longer and narrower. The uncial ʳ is not found. This is a rare alphabet, especially associated with class (x), though there are one or two of class (viii) using it. See Nos. 6, 11, 20, 107, 141, 145, 171.

No. IV is an ornamental alphabet, almost exclusively associated with class (x). In this the ᵃ has, as a rule, no top finial: usually the b, ᵒ, o, and sometimes also the ᵗ, are pointed; the ᶠ is shortened below. Examples are found in 8, 12, 128, 150, 168, 180.

In inscriptions ornamentally written the ends of the letters are terminated with finials. In alphabet I finials are not very common. When they do occur, they are small strokes across the head of the letter. In II and III side-strokes not crossing the letter-end are preferred. In IV bifid finials, or expanding triangular finials, are found, sometimes luxuriating extravagantly, as in No. 77. These are the general rules of distribution, though exceptions will easily be found. Nos. 75, 169, both inscriptions of alphabet I, and having several features in common, present us with peculiar triangular finials, with which the terminals of the cross in 19 may be compared.

The Latin inscription, No. 14, presents a curious mixture of several alphabets.

In certain of the inscriptions the mark of prolongation is added

over long vowels. The following is a list of examples in the plates:—

Máel . . . rigg, 6.
Díchoem, 8.
Snédreagol, 19.
Collán, 27.
Rectnía, 39.
Dúna . . ., 51.
Pú . . ., 74.
Maelquiaráin, 92.
Tanaidén, 95.
Maélpatric, 101.
Oróit, 119.
Bróenáin, 128.
Cholumbán, 133.
Mártanán, 136.
Maelphátraic, 137.
Odrán, háu, 145.
Dainéil, 168.
Beác . . ., 181.
Maelmhíchíl, 191.

In other inscriptions a stroke over the letter—generally more horizontal than the mark of prolongation—denotes contraction, as in the familiar OR̄ for *oroit*, or m̄ for *mac*. In one case it serves as a hyphen connecting *ing-en* in the two lines of No. 51.

Before leaving the palæography of the inscriptions we must notice the binding of adjacent letters together in some inscriptions, notably 2, 55, 59, 70. This is clearly due to the influence of penmanship. In a few cases we have monograms: *ac* in 17 (Alphabet I), *eu*, *cl* in 122, *ch* in 108 (Alphabet II), *ae*, *gg* in 6 (Alphabet III).

IV. *Philology of the Inscriptions.*—The vocabulary of the legible inscriptions, which will presently be given at length, consists of one verb, five prepositions, two pronouns, two adjectives, one article, nine common nouns, and a considerable number of proper names, all personal except two, which are territorial.

The only "aspirated" letters written are *c*, *m*, *p*, *t*; the reading *Conghail* in 241 is certainly wrong. On the other hand *Cobthac* is written for *Cobthach* in 195. The aspirated *t* is represented by *d* in *Dubdach* (18).

The aspiration is produced by the prepositions *ar*, *do*, but is only expressed with *c*, *p*, *t*, and that not invariably: *do Chondden do Thuathal*; but *do Cellach*, *do Cumsi*. It is expressed after *do understood* in 215, if that inscription be correctly read. The letter *h* represents the guttural *ch* in *Anhoc* (diminutive of *Onchu*). Elsewhere (114, 125, 145, 174) it is used as a mere word-divider, before an initial vowel.

The initial syllable of the second member of names compounded with *Mael* in the dative is aspirated: *Mael-Mhichil* (but *Mael-Micheil* in the nominative).

The aspirated *t* is omitted in *Blaimac* (= Blathmac). On the other hand, it is inserted in *Dithraid* (= Diraid).

"Eclipsis" is produced by the relative pronoun *a* (13, 261), and by the lost *n* of the accusative case (*Gilla-(n)-g(C)iarain*, 192).

Diminutives are formed in *án* (Columbán, Mártanán) or *óc* (Anhoc = Onchu-óc).

The following words and names are borrowed from non-Irish sources:—*Amen*, *Benedicht*, *Cros*, *Daincil*, *Epscop*, *Marcus*, *Oroit*, *Prescill*, *Thomas*.

In the following vocabulary the case of the word is noted, and cognates sought from other sources. I have made use especially of the *Annals of the Four Masters* (AQM), the index to which is by no means perfect; the *Annals of Ulster* (AU), and the Martyrologies of Gorman and of Donegal (MG, MD). Holder's *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* (HSS), and Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* have been in constant reference throughout.

V. VOCABULARY OF WORDS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

. . . **a** (173).

. . . **acc** (67).

a n- (13, 262), relative pronoun, unchangeable for inflexion or gender. Originally *san*, the *s* preserved in prepositional compounds (as *lasa n-* in 13).

Admoer (51), woman's name, nom., AQM 806; AU 810; compare masculine name, *Ad-maru-s* 'very great,' HSS.

Aed (109), nom., (262) dat. AQM 97 entries; AU index, 3 pages; MD twenty-six entries; O. Celt. *Aidu-o-s* (cf. the *Aedui* of Caesar) from *aidu-s* 'fire.'

Ailgal (38), nom., AQM *Aelghal* 751; AU *Ailgal* 756, 760, 770. Compound of *gall*, **gallo-s* 'stranger,' and (?) *áil* 'pleasant.'

Aingel (99), dat., nom. *Anghal* AQM 951 (?); or *an-gelo-s* 'very white.' Reading doubtful.

. . . . **alar** (234), nom. Compare *C . . . salar* in Ogham at Drumloghan.

amen (22), Greek, ἀμήν 'amen.'

And . . . (230).

. . . . **ange . . .** (232).

Angus (94) dat. nom. *Aengus*, *Oengus*, eight entries AU.

Anhoc (85), written probably for *Onch-óc*, diminutive of *Onchú* MG *et all*. For the orthography, compare *Menuch* (for *Menucch*) on the Inchagoill inscription.

Anm . . . (113).

Annseni (126), gen., nom. *Ainnsene* AQM 929.

. . . . **aod . . .** (105).

ar (*passim*), preposition governing acc. Causes aspiration of following initial, which is expressed in writing only in *T* and *C* (but *ar Cle* . . . in 222). Prefixes *h* to initial *U* (not in 146). Also governs dat., but acc. is the regular construction in these inscriptions. The dat. significance is rather that of place, the acc. of cause. 'For, on behalf of'; O Celt. **par*, **per*.

Arlia (41), nom. A name not found elsewhere.

Armeda (169), gen. of a name **Armid*, not found elsewhere: cf. a fem. name *Armis*, found in CIL v. 2684 (HSS).

Arttri (65), nom., AQM three entries between 797 and 832; AU eleven entries between 742 and 834. From **Arto-rix* 'bear-king.'

aue, 'a grandson, descendant'; dat. **háu** (145), **hu** (204), **ua**? (240); gen. **hui** (262); gen. form **ui**, incorrectly for dat. (188); O Celt. *pavio-s*; Greek, παῖς; Ogham, *avi* in gen.

Badbfen (73). Reading doubtful. A name not found elsewhere, but cognate with *Badhbhchadh*, *Badhbhghal*. From **Bodvo-veino-s* 'battle-champion.'

. . . . **bai** (178).

Beác . . . . (181).

Bene(di)cht (243), dat. Latin, *Benedictus*. Reading doubtful.

Bibria (262), gen. Reading doubtful; if genuine, a derivative of *bebro-s* 'a beaver'; also found in *Bibracte* 'beaver-town,' and the British tribe of the *Bibroci*.

Blaimac (61), nom., for *Blathmac*; ten entries under this name in AQM. *Blath-mac* 'flower-son.'

bocht (208), adj., nom. 'poor.'

Boisse (121), dat. A name not found elsewhere.

Bonuit (150), dat. A name not found elsewhere; cognate with Gaulish *Bonitus*.

Bróenáin (128), gen., nom. *Braonán* AQM 887. Diminutive of *Braen* AU 883, &c. Cognate with Ogham, *Broinienas* (Monataggart, county Cork), *Broinionas* (Ballinrannig, county Kerry). Probably a derivative from *bru-* 'strong' (*βαρύς*, *gravis*, &c.).

Brotur (91), dat., nom. *Brotar*, *Bruadar*, seven entries AQM between 809 and 981; **brutu-* 'fervor,' 'furor.'

Cháinig (256), dat., infected by preceding *do*; nom. *Cáinnech*, five entries MD; twice AQM. A female name, *Caincach* AQM 927. From *cain* 'pure, good.'

Charthach (227), dat., infected by preceding *do*; nom. *Carthach*, four times each in AQM and MD. From *Caratacos* (*carato-s* 'lovable,' from *carim* 'I love'). Ogham *Carrttacc* (Barachaurin, Co. Cork); *Carataci* (inscription at Winsford Hill, Exmoor). Modern *Carthy*, *MacCarthy*.

Chathul (243), dat., infected by preceding *do*. Reading doubtful. Nom. *Cathal*, a very common name, forty-five entries in AQM. From *catu-valo-s* 'battle-mighty.'

Ch . . . cen (204). Reading doubtful.

Cellach (116), dat.; **Cellaich** (262), gen.; nom. *Cellach*, five times MD, fifty-eight times AQM. Derived by Stokes from *Kel(a)d*, *Kladô* 'to beat,' 'strike'; *Cellach* 'battle.' Modern *Kelly*.

Cennedig (266), dat., nom. *Ceinneidigh* AQM 942, 1014. Query, *Cennidego-s* 'of good, i.e. fair, skin.' Modern *Kennedy*.

Cirini (ε). Reading doubtful.

. . . cla . . . (138).

Cle . . . (222). Reading doubtful.

Cho . . . . (188). Probably *Choind*, which see.

Chobthac (195), dat., infected by preceding *do*; nom. *Cobthach*, nine times AQM. Ogham, *Covte*[*ci*](?), Ardywanig, Co. Kerry. Adj. from *cobo-* 'victory,' 'victorious.' Modern *Coffey*.

Choind (11), genitive form wrongly used for dat. **Chunn** (152), dat. **Cho[ind]** (188), genitive for dat., all infected by previous *do*. Nom. *Conn*, thirteen times in AQM. Perhaps from *condo-s* 'sense,' 'understanding.'

Collán (27), nom.; *Colán* MD; *Colann* AQM 850. Diminutive of *Colla*.

Colman (208, 210), nom.; **Cholman** (269), dat. Over one hundred entries in AQM, fifty-four in AU. Diminutive of *Colum* (*Columb-agnos*; Ogham *Colomagni*, Glennawillen, Co. Cork). From *colomb-os* 'a dove.' It is a contraction.

Cholumbán (133), dat., infected by previous *do*. A bishop of Inisbofin was called *Columbanus*, AU 667, 675.

Com . . . (53).

Comgán (212), nom.; **Comgan** (163), dat.; *Comhgan* AQM 868; Ogham, *Comogann* (Arraglen, Co. Kerry).

Conaing (240), dat., nom. *Conang* (also *Conaing*); twenty-five entries in AQM; Ogham, *Conann* (Carhoovauler, Co. Cork).

Conassach (30) nom.; *Conasach* AU 791.

Chondden (20), dat., infected by preceding *do*, of a name not elsewhere found.

Conghail (240). Reading doubtful.

Corbriu (239), dat., nom. *Cairbre*; thirty-one times AQM; five times MD; Ogham, *Corrbri* (Breastagh, Co. Mayo); *Coribiri* (Kilberihert, Co. Cork), 'a charioteer,' from *Corbos* 'a chariot.'

. . . corip (263). Reading doubtful.

Cormac (22), **[Cor]macc** (183), dat., nom. *ibid.* MD fifteen times; AQM fifty-two times. From *corbo-maqvos* 'chariot-son.'

Coscrach (252), nom.; eleven times in AQM; adj., from *coscar* 'victory,' 'victorious.'

chros (13), subst., fem. infected by preceding article, 'a cross.' Latin, *crux*.

Cruithnechan (46), nom. Bk. of Leinster 15*a* 33.

chrumm (239), adj., dat. infected by position; nom. *crom* 'crooked,' 'bent'; Old Celt. *crumbo-s* 'crooked.'

. . . ctcore (68).

Chuindless (108), acc., nom. *Cuindles* AQM 719 (compare British royal name *Cune-glaso-s*).

Cùmasa (221). Name not otherwise found. Reading uncertain.

Cumsi (21), dat. of a name not otherwise found.

Chunn (152): see **Choind.**

Cuo . . . . (100).

Daigrei (12), gen., from *Daighre*, thrice in MD. *Dago-rix* 'good king.'

Dainéil (168), dat., from Biblical *Daniel*. Eight times in AQM.

Dathal (59), nom., recorded AU 816.

. . . deic (249).

Dellach (242). Name unknown. Reading uncertain.

dernad (13, 260), passive preterite of *dognim* 'I make,' 'do.'

Díchoem (8), nom., name not otherwise found. Apparently *di*, privative prefix + *coem*, *coimo-s* 'fair' = 'unfair,' 'unhandsome.'

Dithraid (211), dat. misspelt of *Diraid*, twice in MD. *Devo-rato-s* 'God-given.'

. . . do . . . (3).

do (*passim*), preposition governing dat., 'to,' 'for.' Spelt **du** in 97, 244, 245.

. . do (?) **b . . . . d . . .** (217).

. . . domna . . . (98).

Donaeldan (245). Diminutive of *Daincil*. Reading doubtful.

Doraid (244), dat., the gen. *Dorcit* in AU 765; but reading doubtful.

du: see **do.**

Du . . . (139).

Dubcen (240), dat. *Dubcenn* AQM, AU 974. *Dubo-qvenno-s* 'blackhead.'

Dubdach (18), dat. of *Dubhthach*, five times AQM.

Dubinrecht (148), dat. of *Duibhinnracht*, five times AQM between 665 and 938. *Dubni-rectu-s* 'deep-right,' i.e. 'profoundly,' or 'very right.'

Dubinse (110), nom. *Duibhinsi*, *-innsi* AQM, four times. From *Dubno-* 'deep.' Compare *Dubnissus* CIL iii. 5421 (HSS).

Dublitir (23) dat. *Dublittir* five times in AU. From *Dubo-lettrek* 'black hill'; one of the few personal names of territorial origin.

Dúna . . . . (51).

Dunada[ch] (247). *Dunadhach* AQM 953. Explained by Stokes as 'having a *dúnad*,' i.e. 'a host.'

ecc . . . . (56).

Echt . . . . (176).

Ectbr . . . . (229).

Eochaig (171), dat. of *Eochaidh*, fifty-three times in AQM. Ogham, *Ivacattos* (Colbinstown, Co. Kildare): compare *Ivo-dacca*, *Evolengi*.

Eolais (145), gen. of *Eolas* 'knowledge,' used as n. p.

$\overline{\text{eps}}$ (24), **epscop** (59), Latin *episcopus* 'a bishop.'

Etich (97), dat.; in the gen. *Etigh*, AU 896.

Eudus (122), nom.; twice in AQM (722, 793).

Fechtnach (141, 142), dat.; nom. *Feachtnach*, AQM 776. 'Happy' in Milan Glosses 134 d.

Feragan (228), dat.; reading rather doubtful. Apparently *Fer* 'a man' + diminutive suffix *agnos*, afterwards *án*. Ogham *Viragni* (Aghaliskey, Co. Cork).

Ferchomus (5), dat., corresponding to gen. *Fercomais* AU 1185, &c.

Ferdamnach (93, 134 ?), acc., nom. *Ferdomhnach* ten times AQM. From *Viro-dumna-ros*, meaning something like 'deep' or 'thorough man.'

Fergal (248), nom.; *Fearghal* twenty-nine times AQM. *Viro-gallos* 'strange man.'

Fergus (231), **Forcos** (209), nom.; *Fearghus*, sixteen times MD, forty-four times AQM. Compare *Vorgos*, *Vergoso* in Ogham at Coolnagort, Co. Kerry, and Monataggart, Co. Cork, respectively. *Viro-gustus* 'chosen man.'

Fiachraich (81), acc. of *Fiachra*, eight times MD. Ogham genitive *Veqreq* (Monataggart, Co. Cork), *Vecrec* (Lomanagh, Co. Kerry). From *fich* (*Viko-) 'battle.'

Finan (37), nom., eleven times in MD. Diminutive in *án* from *vindo-s* 'white' (for *Finnan*, earlier *Findán*).

Findan (86), acc.: see preceding article.

Finnachtu (25), dat. *Finneacht*, woman's name in MD. twice; *Finnachta* several times in AU (written *Finsnechta* to conform to an impossible etymology).

Flannchad (149), dat.; nom. *Flannchad*, twice in AQM. Probably from root *rla* 'to be mighty' + *kad* 'to distinguish oneself.'

Fogartach (128), dat., (253) nom.; twenty-three times in AQM. Modern *Fogarty*.

Forcos (209): see **Fergus.**

G . . . (7, 15).

Gaescel (58), nom. Name not elsewhere found.

Gal . . . (207 *bis*).

Ger . . . n (35).

. . . . ggan (238): compare **Tadggan.**

Gilla- (190), dat.; **Gilla n-** (192), acc. 'a servant.' Used, generally after about 1000 A.D., as a formative in theophorous names.

Gilla-Christ (190), dat., 'Servant of Christ,' five times AQM.

Gilla-Giarain (192), acc., 'Servant of Ciaran'; nom. *Gilla-Chiarain*; AQM 1013.

Gorm . . . . (166).

Gormain (188), gen., nom. *Gormán*, five times AQM. Diminutive in *án* from *gorm*, 'blue.'

Guariu (147), dat., nom. *Guaire*, 18 entries in AU. From *gourio-s* 'noble.'

H. For words beginning with this letter see under the letter following.

. . . . **iadgg** (241).

ic (260), preposition, more usually written *oc*, meaning 'by' (of place, i.e. 'beside'). Less commonly, as in the inscription, of author or agent.

. . . **ill** (233).

. . . **im** . . . (1).

. . . **in** . . . (203).

in (13, 260), definite article; nom. causes aspiration in the feminine.

ingen (51), subs. fem. 'a daughter'; Ogham, *inagenc* (Kilbonane, Co. Kerry); O. Celt. *enigenâ*.

Iral . . . . (220).

. . . . **laig** (185).

. . . . **laith** (250).

las (13), preposition *la* 'with,' 'by,' with *s* formerly belonging to rel. pron. See **a**.

Laticen (78), nom: cf. *Lithghen, Laidhgenn* MD, *Laidhggen* AU 661; perhaps cognate with Ogham, *Laddigni* (Aghacarrible, Co. Kerry); *laith*, 'a hero' (Cormac's Glossary).

lec (260), subst. f., 'a flagstone.'

Let . . . (257).

. . . . **lethe** (56).

Liat . . . . (120), reading doubtful.

. . . **lith** or . . . **aith** (202).

Lōán (213), reading doubtful: perhaps for *Lonán*, eight times MD.

Lorgan (204), gen. *Lorcan*, MD.

Ma . . . (69).

mac (18?, 128, 237, 240), dat.; **meic** (262) gen., nom. *mac* 'a son'; Ogham and Old Celt. *maqvos, maqi*.

Macl . . . or **Mael . . .** (261).

Mael (17, etc.), dat., acc., **Mailae** (237), gen., 'bald,' 'tonsured.' In composition forming theophorous names, 'tonsured servant of.'

Maela . . . (117): perhaps *Maelan*, found six times in MD, three in AQM.

Mael-Brendain (17), dat. 'Servant of St. Brendain.' AU 1074.

Mael-Brigte (189, 236) dat., **Mael-Brite** (54) acc. 'Servant of St. Brigit.' Nom. *Mael-Brighte*, twenty-two times AQM.

Mael-Ciarain (119), **Mael-Quiaráin** (92), acc., **Mael-Chiaran** (153, 179), nom., dat., 'Servant of St. Ciaran.' Five times AQM.

Mael-Eoain (254), dat., *Mael-Eoin*, MD, AQM (twice), 'Servant of St. John.' Reading doubtful. Compare **Mael-Iohain.**

Mael-Finnia (162, 193), dat.; *Mael-Finnia* AQM (thrice), 'Servant of St. Finnian' (or 'Finnia').

Mael-[Fi]trigg (6), dat., nom. *Mael-Fithrigh*, twice A.Q.M.

Mael-Iohain (24), nom.; *Mael-Ioin*, Bishop of Roscrea, 918 AU. Compare **Mael-Eoain.**

Mael-Maire (154 δ), dat., 'Servant of St. Mary.' MD, &c.

Mael-Micheil (10), nom.; **Mael-Mhichil** (265), **Mael-Mhíchíl** (191), dat., 'Servant of St. Michael."

Mael-Oinae (122), **Mael-Oena** (225), nom.; *Mael-Oena* AQM 855, 'Servant of St. Oenna' [an early abbot of Clonmacnois].

Maél-Patric (101), **Mael-Phátraic** (137), dat.; *Mael-Padraig*, 'Servant of St. Patrick.' Fifteen entries AQM.

Mael-Phetir (135), dat.; *Mael-Peadair* AU 895, 992, 'Servant of St. Peter.'

Mael-Quiaráin: see **Mael-Ciarain.**

Mael-Roin (204), dat. (?). Reading very doubtful. Perhaps for *Mael-Ruain*, a name four times in AQM, 'Servant of Ruan.'

Mael-Tuile (156), **Mael-Tuili** (112), nom. Fourteen times AQM. A name of doubtful meaning; apparently, 'Servant of the Will' (*tol*); that is, 'the will of God.'

Magdarnac (171), adjective, derived from the name of the tribal territory Mughdhorna, now Cremorne barony, in Co. Monaghan.

Maichtech (104), dat. A name not elsewhere found. Query, 'the slaughterer': from *machtaim*, 'I slaughter.'

Mailae-hUmai (237), gen. Nom. *Mael-Umha*, five times AQM. Apparently, 'Servant of Copper.'

Mailduin (*a*). Reading doubtful.

Mail-Senchaill (165), nom. *Mael-Sinchill*, thrice in AQM, 878–955. 'Servant of Sinchell.'

Mail-Tem̄ = *Mail-Temin* (140), dat. Nom. *Mail-Teimin* 908 AU. 'Servant of the Dark One.'

. . . **maina** . . . (226).

Malec (159). Not identified. Perhaps to be read **Ecmal.**

Marcus (79). A Biblical name.

Mártanán (136), dat. Dim. of *Martan* (*Martain, Martinus*).

Martini (γ), gen.; **Marthine** (132), dat. Nom. *Martain.* (Latin, *Martinus.*)

Moen . . . (29).

Muirechtach (89). Nom. of a name not elsewhere found.

Muiredach (251), **Muirethach** (77), **Murethach** (131), dat. Nom. *Muiredhach*, sixty-eight times AQM. Query, *mori*, 'sea' + *dec*, 'to distinguish oneself.'

Muirgalae (55), gen. *Murghal* twice in MD and AQM. *Mori-gallos*, 'sea-stranger.' But this name is fem. in form.

Muirgus (249), dat. *Muirges, Muirghis*, frequently in AU, but perhaps not connected with this. *Mori-gusto-s*, 'sea-chosen' (?).

ndernad, nernad : see **dernad.**

Odrán (145), dat.; *Odhran* ten times MD ; dim. of *Odar* 'gray.'

Oroit (*passim*), 'a prayer.' Latin, *oratio.*

Orthanach (219), nom., twice in AQM. *Orden-ach* 'dignified.'

Prescill (50), the Biblical *Priscilla*.

Pú . . . (74).

Rárcen (223). Reading doubtful.

Rechtar . . . (246). Reading doubtful.

Rectnía (39), nom.; *Reachtnia* AQM 779; *Rektu-net* 'right-champion.'

Remi . . . . (β).

Riacan (263), dat. Perhaps *Riagan* AU 1101, but reading doubtful.

rig (262), dat.; *ri* 'a king'; Old Celt. *rix*.

Roeiñ (214). Reading doubtful.

Ronain (88), gen., nom. *Ronan*, ten times AQM. Ogham, *Ronann* (Arraglen, Co. Kerry). Dim. of *Rón* 'a seal.'

Ruadri (75), nom., twelve times in AQM; *Roudo-rix* 'red king.'

sa (13, 260), demonstrative particle 'this.'

. . . sc (4).

Sechnasach (268), nom., sixteen times in AU.

Siurgal (96), dat. Perhaps *Sacrghal*, twice in AQM; (?) *Sa[p]iro-gallos* 'clever stranger.' Reading doubtful.

Sn . . . (42).

Snedgus (63), nom., twice in AQM, 721, 763.

Snédreagol (19), nom.; *Snedreaghail* AQM, 781.

. . . soin . . . (57).

Suibine (237), dat. (or nom.) (?); *Suibhne*, eight times MD. A name borrowed from the Danish *Sweno*.

T . . . (144).

. . . ta . . . . (2).

Thadggan (240), gen.; **Thadgan** (157) . . . **ggan** (238); dat. of *Tadhgan* AQM; dim. of following.

Taidg (262), gen. of *Tadhg*, twenty-one times in AQM.

Tetg . . . (26).

. . . **this** (224).

Thomas (258), Biblical name.

Tiprait (126), nom.; AQM 929; (?) from *tipra* 'a well,' 'spring.'

Tirucist (255). Reading doubtful.

Toicthech (? 218), nom.; **Toictheg** (235), gen.; *Toictheach* AQM. Ogham, *Togittacc* (Ballywiheen, Co. Kerry). From *togi* 'pleasant.'

Thuathal (102, 267), dat., nom. *Tuathal*, twenty-two times AQM.

Tuathgal (70), nom., AQM 806; *Touto-gallos* 'people-stranger.'

Thurcain (13), acc., nom. *Torcan* AQM 736; dim. of *torc* 'a boar.'

Thutgus (215). Reading doubtful.

U, ui: see **aue**.

hUacan (125), dat. Name not otherwise identified.

Uada (107), dat., nom. *Uada* AQM 826.

Uallaig (180), dat., nom. *Uallach* 'proud,' as a female name; AQM 932.

[Ua]llachain (146), gen. of diminutive in *án* of preceding.

hUar . . . p (174).

ui see **aue**.

. . . **uid** . . . (9).

hUidrine (114), acc., nom. *Uidreni* AQM 691.

hU Maine (262). 'Hy-Many,' the territory of the O'Kellys, along the west bank of the Shannon from Lough Derg to Lough Ree.

. . . **uo** . . . **m** . . . **uin** (260).

VI. HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

In *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* three long poems are printed which profess to give lists of persons buried at Clonmacnois: and of one of these, an improved edition has recently been contributed by Mr. R. I. Best to "Ériu," vol. ii, pp. 163–171. These poems, though no doubt interesting in themselves, are for our present purpose disappointing. They give lists of names, and there are certain coincidences between these lists and the names on the slabs: but there is nothing to show that the lists are trustworthy, or the coincidences of any importance. In the following discussion I shall leave these poems entirely out of account, and confine myself to the evidence afforded by the more prosaic Annals. These give all the information of value to be obtained from the poems, with the important addition of dates.

In attempting to identify the persons commemorated by these monuments, several considerations must always be carefully kept in mind.

If we find a stone inscribed, say, "Cormac," and discover in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, or some such compilation, that a distinguished Cormac died and was buried at Clonmacnois; and if the style of the cross be not inconsistent with the date of the burial, it is natural to identify the slab as the memorial of the man. But it must not be forgotten that for one recorded Cormac there may have been fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand, now unknown persons, bearing the same not uncommon name, interred in the graveyard in the same century as the Cormac of the Annals. Almost from its first foundation in 547 A.D. the fame of the holy city of Ciaran spread throughout Ireland; and the vast cemetery is now congested with the bones of nearly fifty generations brought thither for interment from all parts of the country. I cannot help regarding it as an unfortunate characteristic of the *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* that so much weight is ascribed to, and so many important deductions drawn from, identifications which rest upon rather unstable foundations.

When parentage or a distinctive epithet is added to the bare name on the stone, of course the problem becomes less hopeless; and we can start our investigation with a group of inscriptions, unfortunately rather small, which bear name and parentage identical with similar details given in the Annals. These are as follows:—

Odrán hua Eolais (145). He was a scribe of Clonmacnois; died 994 A.D.

Fig. 15.—The Slab of Suibhne (from Petrie).

Tibraide, son of Ainnsene (126). Abbot of Clonmacnois; died 929 A.D.

Suibhne, son of Mael-Umha (237). Anchorite and scribe of Clonmacnois, the most learned Irishman of his day. Died

887 A.D. according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*; 892 according to Florence of Worcester, who is probably more nearly correct.

Cairbre Crom (239). Abbot and bishop; died 899.

The last two are an interesting pair; and though both are now lost, they are well recorded in Petrie's drawings and notes. They were identical in design, and, it will be noticed, are dated within

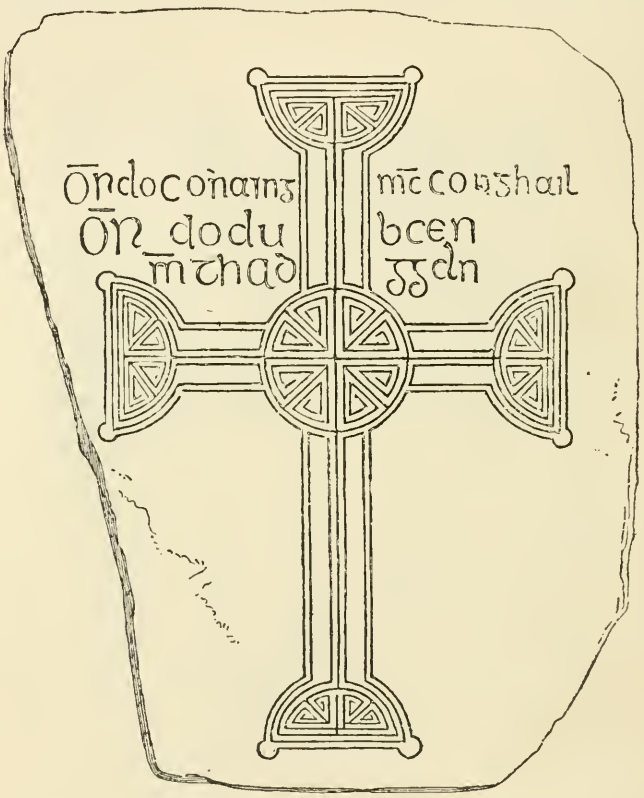


Fig. 16.—The Slab of Dubcenn and Conaing (from Petrie).

seven years of one another. They can hardly but be the work of the same hand. Two others of the same workmanship and design remain, and they no doubt belong to the same period. One (157) bears the name *Tadgan*, which I cannot find about this time at Clonmacnois. The style would suit Dr. Petrie's identification with Tadhgan, prince of Teathbha; but there may have been others

of the same name at the same date. The second (155) has part of the name *Mael-Tuile*: it is tempting to identify this with the lector of Clonmacnois, d. 921; and some further hints in support of this identification will be alluded to later.

Dubcenn mac Tadhgain (240). This was a prince of Teathbha, whose son Aghda appears to have died after penance at Clonmacnois in 978: we may therefore assume the prince himself to have died about 950. There is no direct evidence connecting Dubcenn himself with Clonmacnois; but as the boundary of Teathbha cut the Shannon a very short distance north of Clonmacnois, his interment there is highly probable.

Conaing ua Cosgraigh (240), bishop, d. 997. There is a second inscription on the Dubcenn stone, read by Petrie with doubt, OR DO CONAING MC CONGHAIL. This is obviously superadded to the inscription of *Dubcenn*, though Petrie apparently regards it as the older of the two. The reading is impossible, as Dr. Stokes points out (Petrie, p. 49), owing to the presence of the aspirated *g*, which we would not look for at so early a date. The *n* of *Conghail* Petrie marks as especially doubtful; indeed he himself is so uncertain of the reading that he suggests the alternative *Cathail*. It seems to me most probable that the reading was really *Cosgraig*: the one could easily be mistaken for the other, as the annexed comparison shows:—

CONGHAIL
COSGRAIG

—the third letter being assumed as faint as Petrie makes it. A damaged UA could also be easily read MC.

It may perhaps be worth mentioning that a certain *Dubthach ua Tadhgain*, priest of Clonmacnois, died in 996, the year before the obit of Bishop Conaing: and I have been inclined to speculate as to the possibility of Petrie's *Dubcen* being a mistake for *Dubtach*. But the possibilities of emendation are endless and enticing, but so dangerous that such experiments are of little profit. A copy of a lost inscription may be right or wrong; if we have but one man's testimony to it, we can build very little upon it, and still less can we build on any attempts at emending it. Petrie's

No. 49 is happily still extant; but were it lost, as is this memorial of Dubcenn and Conaing, no amount of epigraphic insight would enable one to guess that what Petrie gives as *Or do Bran u Caillen* is really *Or do Cormac Amen*!

However this may be, we deduce the following results from these identifications:—

1. The excellent artist who gave us the memorials of Suibhne, Cairbre Crumm, Mael-Tuile, and Tadgan flourished about 900 A.D.

2. We find crosses of class (x), *without loops to the terminals*, ranging in date from that of the four just mentioned to 994; that is, throughout the tenth century.

3. One cross with loops to the terminals probably dates about 950.

4. If Petrie's drawing of the latter cross be trusted, we find on this comparatively late stone an example of Alphabet I, which, being rude and apparently transitional in type, would naturally be regarded as characteristic of earlier stones. This is a warning that the character of the lettering is not a very safe guide in dating the stones.

The stone of Odhrán hua Eolais has interlacing-work instead of the more usual key-pattern in its centre and terminals: and the terminals are distorted from their usual semicircular shape. There is another cross, extant in part, No. 162 of the present series, which displays the same features. In this the terminals are triangular, and filled with a curious transition between key and knot-work to which we have already specially alluded. The Odrán cross, which is a very poor piece of work, might well be regarded as an imitation of it; and we may reasonably look for some indication of a person bearing the name on No. 162 as having died shortly before the obit of Odrán. Such a person is actually to be found in Abbot Mael-Finnia, son of Spelan, who died in 991, three years before the death of Odrán; and in the very handsome cross cut on the slab we may fairly see the memorial of this important person. This identification is anticipated by Petrie.

The care that has evidently been expended on designing and executing the cross of Mael-Finnia suggests another line of investigation. Though, as we have said, persons of varying degrees of

distinction were brought to Clonmacnois for burial, and a monument bearing the name of a king may actually commemorate a hind called by the same name, yet we can hardly doubt that the members of what the annalists prettily call "the family of Clonmacnois" would see to it that the memorials of their superiors would not lose by comparison with those of unimportant intruders. We might *a priori* expect a series of the largest and best of the crosses to be memorials of the heads of "the family" themselves.

In order to aid in this part of the enquiry, I subjoin a list of the abbots, priors and bishops of Clonmacnois whom I find recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters* down to 1171. The dates are those of the obits.[1] Particulars of parentage and territorial origin, preserved by the annalists, are omitted, as they do not help us here; such particulars being unfortunately suppressed by the tomb-engravers. Names of bishops are in italics, of priors in brackets :—

548. Ciaran.
569. Oenna.
589. Macnise.
595. Allithir.
609. Tolua Fota.
623. Colman I.
637. Cronan I.
651. Aedhlug.
663. Baetan.
664. Colman II, Cas.
664. Cummine.
681. Colman III.
684. Forcron.
692. Cronan II, Becc.
704. Oissene.
711. Failbhe Becc.
720. Cuindles.
726. Flann Sinna.
732. Conamhail.
735. Ceallach.
742. Comman.
748. Luieridh.
757. Cormac I.
759. Ronan I.
765. Folochtach.
766. Forbasach.
779. Reachtnia.
781. Sneadreaghail.
784. Murghal.
786. Saerbhearg.
789. Ioseph.
794. Anaile.
809. Foircheallach.
811. Suibhne.
821. [Conghal.]
834. [Cumasgach.]
838. [Aidhean.]
842. Ronan II.
848. Cetadach.
866. Commhach.
867. Martin.
869. [Mael-Midhe.]
870. Feardomhnach I.
873. [Maenghal.]
874. Eoghan.
874. *Mael-Tuile.*
883. Mael-Padraig.
886. *Mael-Odhar.*

[1] It is unimportant for our present purpose that these dates are slightly discrepant from those in the Annals of Ulster or of Clonmacnois.

888. Mael-Brighde.
891. Blathmac.
891. [Mael-Achaidh.]
899. *Cairbre Crom.*
918. Loingsech I, abbot and bishop.
924. Colman IV.
929. Tibraide.
946. Ainmire.
950. Feardomhnach II.
952. Celeachair.
953. *Donadhach.*
964. Cormac II.
969. Tuathal, abbot and bishop.
979. [Murchadh.]
987. Dunchadh.
991. Mael-Finnia.
997. *Conaing I.*
1000. *Mael-Poil.*
1002. Flannchadh.
1009. *Conaing II.*
1013. Flaithbheartach I.
1025. Muiredhach.
1030. Breasal.
1038. *Flaithbhertach.*
1042. Loingsech II.
1052. Echthigern.
1056. Mael-Finnen.
1067. *Celechair.*
1079. Mael-Chiarain.
1088. Tighernach.
1089. Conchobhar.
1100. Macraith.
1106. Muiredhach.
1109. Flaithbheartach II.
1127. Gilla Christ.
1136. Domhnall.

Comparing the foregoing list with the catalogue of names extracted from the inscriptions, we find that of the seventy-two names it contains (excluding duplicates), twenty-four are found on the slabs. This is not a large proportion; but it must be remembered, first, that a few of the names belonged to persons who lived in the sixth and seventh centuries, when probably these slabs were not engraved; and that the slabs that have come down to us probably represent a very small proportion of what originally existed. If seven slabs have disappeared since 1898, and sixty-seven since 1822, how many had already passed from sight when Petrie first made drawings of these memorials?

Reading through the list with the monuments in our mind, the first name we meet is *Colman*. Two slabs, both now lost, bore this name. There were four abbots of Clonmacnois and probably dozens of inferior clergy who bore this, one of the commonest of names: so that to identify the Colman slabs with any historical Colman is quite futile.

Next we come to *Cuindles*, abbot 720. Though we here have a much rarer name to deal with, I am sceptical about the identification of this dignitary with the Cuindless of slab No. 108. The rude, archaic-looking lettering is perhaps in favour of the identi-

fication; but the date seems to be too early for the full development of the wheel-cross as we find it on this stone.

Then comes *Cellach*, abbot 735. Here again we are confronted with the difficulty that met us in the case of Colman. The name is so common that any identification would be purely arbitrary.

The same is true of *Cormac*. But the general appearance of antiquity, and the curious, un-stereotyped formula, mark out No. 22, which bears this name, as probably an early slab. It is just conceivable that this may commemorate Abbot Cormac I, 757 A.D.

Ronan occurs in No. 88; but if we are to identify this name with that of an Abbot Ronan, we must more probably think of Ronan II, 842 A.D.

With *Rechtnia* we are on firmer ground. It is difficult to avoid equating this abbot, who died in 779, to the Rectnia of slab No. 39. The name is uncommon, and the style of art and the lettering seem to favour an early date.

In the next name we meet with some corroboration, for *Snedreaghail* is found but once in the Annals, as the name of an abbot of Clonmacnois who died in 781: and when we find it on a tombstone in the precincts, we are justified in considering the possibility of identifying the tombstone as the memorial of the abbot. Here again the rude art and lettering would accord with an early date: though the alphabets are rather different, note the use of the Greek cross in both this and the Rectnía slab, as well as the use of a *small* stone. Both characteristics these stones display in common with the important series of slabs drawn in Plates VI, VII, VIII; and if corroborative evidence can be found of the identifications suggested, we have a valuable guide to the dating of this group.

The next name on the list seems to afford the wished-for help. *Murghal*, abbot, died 784, recalls the *Muirghalac* of slab No. 55. It may perhaps be objected that Muirghalac in form resembles a feminine genitive, and indeed an attempt has been made to connect this stone with Murghal, daughter of Flann, King of Ireland, who died in 926 A.D. If the identification of "Muirgalac" with the abbot could hold, we might reasonably conclude that the series of

slabs to which it belongs, which though so full of variety in detail are yet essentially similar—small slabs, scarcely larger than the design they bear, and all engraved with a Greek cross in a square panel—we might conclude that they are all to be assigned to about the last half of the eighth century. But as the problem of identification has an ambiguous solution, we can draw no conclusions from it: rather must we deduce the identification itself from other facts, if such be available.

Let us therefore digress from our study of the abbatical list for a moment, and examine this question further. The theory of the identification of these three slabs, and the consequent dating of their type, will receive support if it can be shown that of the other names engraved upon the slabs of this series a reasonable proportion can be equated to names of persons known to have been connected with Clonmacnois at the period of time indicated. Out of fifteen names that are legible (Admoer, Ailgal, Arlia, Arttri, Blaimac, Cruithnechan, Dathal, Fergal, Finan, Gaescel, Orthanach, Prescill, Snedgus, Tuathgal, Tutgus), I find two that were borne by persons connected with Clonmacnois at this time—Ailgal, anchorite (*obiit* 751), and Tuathgal, "abbot of the religious seniors," who died in 763. The only one of the series that can be found outside the dates 750–800 in connexion with Clonmacnois is *Blaimac*, which, in the more accurate form *Blathmac*, was the name of an abbot who died in 891; but this name, unlike Ailgal and Tuathgal, was not uncommon, and may have been borne by many other persons. It has been thought to find Snedgus of Castledermot (888), and Arttri, prince of Teathbha (826), in Nos. 63, 65, respectively; but there is nothing to connect the first with Clonmacnois; the second identification might hold, but Arttri was not an uncommon name. For a reason similar to the Snedgus case, I attach no weight to the identification of Orthanach with the Abbot of Kilbrew (809) or the bishop of Kildare (839). The "Bishop Dathal" of 59 may possibly be the "anchorite, bishop, and scribe" recorded in AU, 816 (recte, 817). No other Dathal is mentioned in any of the Annals.

So much for the names on the slabs of this series. It will be noticed that the Snedreagol, Muirgalae, and Tuathgal inscriptions

all present in a marked degree the peculiarity of linking the letters, after the manner of manuscript writing. This, though by itself not an argument of any strength, yet adds its weight to the balance of evidence. Unless fresh and unexpected material should come to light, we can never speak very positively on the subject of identification and chronology: but we have, it is thought, indicated that there are not wanting grounds for believing that the crosses of class (ii) are as a whole to be assigned to the latter half of the eighth century.

Let us now return to the abbatical list. Unless the identification of Cùmasa (221) with the prior *Cumasgach* (A.D. 834) hold —which I much doubt—the next name is that of Abbot *Ronan* II, 842: and we may perhaps associate with him the large slab (No. 88).

An observant visitor in almost any graveyard will often notice that one headstone has served as a model for a number of others. The friends of *A* engage an architect to design a memorial for him: if the design be successful, sooner or later the friends of *B* will commission a stone-cutter to imitate it. This is not infrequently the case in mediaeval churches, the mural monuments and brasses of which sometimes present a striking uniformity of type; and we need not be surprised to find the same thing at Clonmacnois. It would *a priori* appear quite natural that the monument of one dignitary should serve as the model for the tomb of his successor. We have already seen how the monument of Odrán hua Eolais is probably an imitation of that of Abbot Mael-Finnia, and we shall presently show that it is also probable that the stone of Cho . . . ua Gormain (No. 188) is a bad copy of the Suibine mac Mailae-hUmai group. Therefore, if the *Ronan* stone really represents Abbot Ronan, we may look for a succession of priors and abbots also commemorated by large slabs with Celtic crosses upon them.

Ferdamnach II (870 A.D.) is the next who bears a name found on the crosses: and on this theory his may well be No. 93; while *Mǽl-Túile* (874 A.D.) may possibly be the owner of No. 112.[1] The

[1] I am, however, inclined to compare the names of the two abbots who died in 874—Eogan and Mael-Tuile—with the names joined on slab 122, *Eudus* and *Mael-Oinae*;

curious cross of *Mael-Patric* (101) looks forward to the type of cross classed as (x), in which the arm-ends are expanded and the central circle sinks to a mere expansion of the intersection; and it may easily be the monument of the abbot of that name who died in 883 A.D., just before the time when the artist of the Suibine mac Mailae-hUmai group was bringing class (x) to its final perfection. For it can hardly be doubted that the influence of this craftsman, who even within the narrow scope afforded by the simple devices on these memorial slabs showed artistic skill of a high order, was to some extent responsible for the favour with which the crosses of class (x) seem to have been regarded during the tenth century. No. 189, for *Mael-Brigte*, may commemorate the abbot of that name, A.D. 888, and may be an early effort of the artist: it has his favourite spirals at the centre, but the loops at the arm-ends are not characteristic of him.

These suggested identifications indicate that the slabs with Celtic crosses are to be assigned to the date limits 800–880; and, as we did with the crosses in square panels, we proceed to analyse the other names upon them, and to consider the possibility of identifying their owners with personages known to have been connected with Clonmacnois during that period. These names are twenty-six in number, omitting one or two on lost slabs the reading of which is uncertain. They are Aed, Aingel, Angus, Anhoc, Boisse, Brotur, Carthach, Cellach, Congan, Conlarat, Cormacan, Dubinse, Dunadach, Etich, Eudus, Findan, Mael-Ciarain, Mael-Oinae, Mael-Quiarain, Maichtech, Muirechtach, Siurgal, Toictheg, Tuathal, Uada, Uidrine. Two of them are definitely associated with Clonmacnois in the ninth century—Dubinse, a scribe, 814 (but a bell-ringer of the same name died in 1032), and Mael-Oina, lector, 855. Of the others, *Tuathal* is found in 809, which is too early, and 969, which is too late; but this is so common a name that identification is impossible. *Uada* was prince of Teathbha in 826, which would suit the theory: the name reappears at Clonmacnois in 1167. The latest mention of *Aed* in connexion with Clonmacnois happens to

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and to wonder if the annalists have all received a corrupted tradition of these two names.

be 733,[1] which is probably too early for *any* cross: here, however, we have again a very common name to deal with. *Dunadach* is found at 953, which is rather late: but it is noteworthy that a mediaeval-looking marginal panel surrounds this cross, and this *may* be an indication of a later date than the rest. The remainder of the names do not appear in the Annals in any connexion with Clonmacnois except Mael-Ciarain; and this would obviously be so natural a name for one entering the "family" to assume, that we cannot expect to substantiate any identifications involving it. It is not found in the Annals before the tenth century. The only other indication of date is the *e* dative of *Boisse*. If this be a correct reading, it puts this stone into the tenth century.

These results are perhaps rather less definite than those of the previous investigation; but we see at least that such positive facts as we can discover are in favour of, and nothing is against, dating all or most of the slabs with "Celtic" crosses in the ninth century. Dealing as we are with fragmentary annals and the fragmentary remains of monuments, we need not wonder to find on the whole so few coincidences. The wonder rather is that there are so many.

The abbatical list of the tenth century need not occupy us so long, especially as most of the coincidences have already been dealt with. We need say no more of *Cairbre Crom* (899), *Tibraide* (929), *Mael-Finnia* (991), or *Conaing* (997), the identifications of which seem on firmer ground than any we have previously considered. *Dunadach* (953) and *Tuathal* (969) have also been mentioned as quite uncertain. Passing into the eleventh century, we have *Flannchadh*, abbot, died 1002, whom the fine though simple cross No. 149 may commemorate; *Murethach*, abbot, 1025, and a bishop of the same name, 1106. There are two stones with this name, one with a cross of what appears to be the normal pattern of this period (No. 131), the other the rather fanciful No. 77. The name is, however, too common to assure identification. Of *Mael-Ciaran* (1079) I have already spoken as also hopeless for the same reason. The last name on the list is *Gilla Christ*, bishop, A.D. 1104 (or

[1] Except the prince of Ui Maine, 1014 A.D., commemorated by 262.

Gilla Christ, abbot, A.D. 1127). Possibly slab No. 190 belongs to one of these.

The coincidences that occur during these centuries have already been mentioned. Besides these I find Mael-Phetir, who may be the abbot of Clonfert with that not very common name; he died in 992 (AU.). There are also *Guaire* (A.D. 942, 944), *Colman* (A.D. 924), and *Conn* (A.D. 1059), all of which are names found with crosses of class (x). These names, however, are too common to afford any basis, and in one case at least I think we are justified in saying that identification is inadmissible; namely, No. 152, in which has been sought the monument of Conn na mBocht, "the glory and dignity of Clonmacnois." This, however, appears too poor a monument for a man so distinguished in his day: the way in which the annalists speak of him, and especially the care with which they always indicate relationship to him, shows in what esteem he was held by his contemporaries. Moreover if the Flannchad cross really commemorates the abbot of that name, the Conn cross, which is of identical design, and most probably by the same hand, must be the memorial of some one nearer to Flannchad in date than was Conn na mBocht.

It may, however, be suggested that the monument of Conn na mBocht is to be seen in No. 188. There is just room, and no more, in the missing part of the slab (assuming the stem of the cross to be of average length) to restore *Or do Cho(ind) ui* [sic] *Gormain*. Conn na mBocht was a descendant of Gorman, who died in 753; and if this be really the tombstone of that distinguished and philanthropic anchorite, it is interesting to note how the engraver, feeble workman though he must be confessed to have been, ambitiously set himself to copy the monument of the other great anchorite, Suibine mac Mailae-hUmai, who likewise had been "the pride and dignity of Clonmacnois" more than a hundred and fifty years before.

The splendid slab of Fiachra (No. 81), with its ingenious spirals and border key-pattern, calls the work of the artist of the Suibine stone to mind; and when we find that a Fiachra is actually recorded in A.D. 921 ("Fiachra of Eaglais Becc," that is, of the small church of St. Ciaran)—the year of Mael-Tuile the lector, whose probable monument, as we have seen, is another of that

engraver's artistic triumphs—we feel little hesitation in assigning this also to his master-hand.

Among the latest stones we have lost one monument of the first importance—the slab which, beyond all question, commemorated Aedh, King of Ui Maine, 1014. Though there are several entries in the Annals regarding the family of Lorcan, I can find nothing to throw light on the illegible part of No. 204.

Of the slabs without distinctive or important crosses perhaps we may venture to equate Mael-Iohain, the Bishop (No. 24), to the Bishop of Roscrea,[1] Mael-Ioin, who died 918, according to the Annals of Ulster. None of the others present sufficient indications of date or historical connexion.

But there is one inscription which has an attractive fascination. Who was Turcán, "by whom this cross was made"? The slab was found lying on the causeway to the Nuns' Church, far removed from any cross; and there is none upon the stone itself. That it was in its original place when I first saw it I greatly doubt; when I returned in 1906, I found that it had been shifted to another spot in the causeway, and, as already remarked, I caused it to be brought for safety to the locked-up chapel where the other slabs are stored.

Somewhere hereabout was a "monument of the three crosses" (*uluidh na dtri gcros*), but not a trace of it remains, and there is no real evidence to connect the Turcán stone with this forgotten memorial. Indeed, the mention of *one* cross only in the inscription is against such an association.

In attempting to interpret the inscription we must remember that its formula is very closely copied on another, now lost. This is No. 260, which reads, "A prayer for . . . . . by whom this slab was made." The name is unfortunately defaced. In this case there can be no question that the inscription was cut by the owner of the monument, and that we have here a case of the preparation by a man of his own memorial.

[1] Roscrea is about twenty-eight miles S.S.E. of Clonmacnois.

The Turcán stone is rather different. It must refer to something outside the limits of the slab itself, for the stone bears no cross; not even an initial crosslet. It follows that it must have been meant to lie near the cross referred to, and to inform the spectator of the name of the artist, and request from him intercession on his behalf. And the precedent of No. 260 clears the way for holding the view that the Turcán slab was prepared for the purpose by the artist himself.

What, then, was the cross, and who was Turcán? The lettering of the slab is very neat and regular. It resembles the beautiful lettering of the admirable Fogartach slab (128), and is not a little suggestive of the Suibine monument itself. It is by no means unlikely that Turcán was actually the artist who gave us these memorials.

But it is not suggested that it is to one of these crosses the inscription refers. A far grander cross was added to the treasures of Clonmacnois at the beginning of the tenth century. This is the monument of King Flann, dated between 914, when the monarch died, and 924, when died the abbot Colman, who had the cross erected. It would be natural to entrust the preparation of the tombstones of important personages like Cairbre Crom and Suibine to the chief sculptor of Clonmacnois, whom, no doubt, Colman would also commission for the memorial of his royal friend.

The lettering of the inscriptions on King Flann's cross is unfortunately nearly all battered away. But what few remains are left remarkably resemble the lettering on the Turcán stone, especially in the shape of the letter R.

Allowing for the primitive and troubled times in which he lived, the artist who gave us the cross of King Flann was one of the greatest sculptors of Northern Europe. If Turcán was he, his name should be held in lasting honour for his piety, and for the skill wherewith he was gifted. May his glorious masterpiece long remain unharmed at Clonmacnois, and with it the humbler slab on which he has engraved his own pleading:—

OROIT AR TURCAN LASANDERNAD IN CHROSSA.

APPENDIX.

MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE MONASTIC SETTLEMENT OF CLONMACNOIS.

The first part of this Appendix contains, in tabular form, a list of all the events in the history of Clonmacnois that I have been able to find recorded, with the dates assigned to them by the principal annalists. These have already been collected by previous writers, such as Ware and Archdall; but the list here given will, it is thought, be found more complete than any hitherto compiled. As the indexes to the published editions of the various Annals are neither complete nor accurate, it has been found necessary to go through the whole text of each in order to avoid the risk of missing some of the entries. This has been done under the pressure of other important work; and it is possible that, notwithstanding all due care, some entries may have been overlooked: it is hoped, however, that nothing of importance has been omitted. The second part, which is called the "'Roll-call' of Clonmacnois," contains a list of every person that I can find recorded as having been connected with Clonmacnois, in life, death, or burial, down to the final spoliation of the monastery in 1552. The dates are those of their obits, unless otherwise stated. The third part is a summary description of all the remains of the monastery existing, other than the monumental slabs, which have been fully described in the foregoing pages.

In preparing this Appendix I have supplemented my own notes with a free use of the works of my predecessors, of which a short bibliography is given at the end. This does not profess to be a complete list of books and papers dealing with the subject, but contains all that I have consulted and found of service. The descriptions in Part III have been revised and corrected on the spot.

Part I.—The Recorded Events in the History of Clonmacnois.

(AQM = Annals of the Four Masters. CS = Chronicon Scotorum. AU = Annals of Ulster. AC = Annals of Clonmacnois. ALC = Annals of Loch Cé. AT = Annals of Tighernach. In the last-named, dates as a rule are not given, so that entries to be found in it are noted simply with an asterisk.)

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
—	—	547	547	—	Diarmaid ua Cerbhaill, in banishment at Ard-tibra, afterwards called Cluain maccu Nois, meets Ciaran, newly come thither from his monastery at Inis Ainghin, and assists him to found a house there. Ciaran, in gratitude, prays for Diarmaid that he may obtain the sovereignty of all Ireland, a prayer immediately granted. (Ciaran was son of Beoid the wright and his wife Darerca: from his father's trade he took the name *mac an tsaoir*, or "son of the wright." Through Darerca he was descended from Fergus mac Roigh. He seems to have been born in the district now called Longford. He studied with Finnian of Clonard.)
548	548	548	548	—	Death of Ciaran, only seven months after he began to build the monastery (in the AU, by an oversight, seven *years*). He was buried in Eaglais Beag, and the door stopped with stones. His fellow-student, Coemgen of Glendalough, being miraculously apprised of his death, came to Clonmacnois and had converse with him for twenty-four hours. King Diarmaid became deaf from grief after hearing of the death of the saint, but was healed by the priest Lugaidh, after fasting, with some of the clay of St. Ciaran, mingled with holy water in the bell of St. Ciaran, and put in his ear.
558	565*	564	569	—	King Diarmaid slain: his body buried at Connor, his head at Clonmacnois.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
610	615	—	617	—	The anchorite Gorman, ancestor of the important Clonmacnois family of Conn na mBocht, and one of the Mugdhorna, lives for a year at the holy well of Fingin on bread and water.
645	646*	—	642	—	The congregation of Ciaran made supplication for the safe return of Diarmaid son of Aedh Slaine on his way to the battle of Carn Conaill. After his success there he made over Tuam Eire, now called Lemanaghan, as church lands to the community, and "gave three curses to the king whose people should take so much as a drink of water there." Burial-place of Diarmaid ordered at Clonmacnois.
664	661*	664	664	—	Great plague of toxæmic jaundice in Ireland, in which many of the people died, with the two High-kings Diarmaid and Blathmac, and many princes and ecclesiastics, including the abbot of Clonmacnois, Cormac Cas.
719	—*	722	—	—	Clonmacnois burned.
733	—	737	735	—	Battle of Ath Senaith: Aedh King of Leinster slain, and seems to have been buried at Clonmacnois.
—	—	748	—	—	"Ships in the air" (a mirage), seen at Clonmacnois.
750	—*	754	751	—	Clonmacnois burned, 21st March.
—	—*	—	756	—	Battle at Moin Coisse Blai between the people of Clonmacnois and those of Birr. The site of this battle has not been identified.
—	—*	763	759	—	Battle of Argaman, between the communities of Clonmacnois and of Durrow. Bresal son of Murchad, with the people of Clonmacnois, victors. Diarmaid the Black son of Domhnall, and Diglach son of Dubhliss, slain with 200 of the people of Durrow.
773	—	777	—	—	Clonmacnois burned, 10th July.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
—	—	—	783	—	"A terrible vision at Clonmacnois, and great repentance throughout Ireland."
811	816	815	—	—	More than half Clonmacnois burned.
—	—	817	—	—	The third part of Clonmacnois burned.
—	823	822	—	—	Resignation of Abbot Ronan.
832	833	832	830	—	Massacre of the inhabitants of Clonmacnois by Feidhlimid son of Crimthann, King of Cashel, and the whole termon burnt by him to the door of the church.
—	—	—	834	—	Clonmacnois profaned by Cathal, son of Ailill, lord of ui Maine, who drowned the prior Flann in the Shannon: seven churches adjudged in atonement.
—	—	834	—	—	The third part of Clonmacnois burnt, 5th March.
—	842	—	—	—	Clonmacnois burned.
841	837	841	839	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the *Gaill* of Linn Duachaill.
843	845	844	842	—	Expedition of Turgeis, lord of the *Gaill*, to Loch Ree: he burns Clonmacnois and its dependent oratories. Ota, wife of Turgeis, "gave oracles" on the altar of Clonmacnois. ["Wars of Gaedhill and Gaill."]
844	846	—	—	—	Feidhlimid again plunders the termon, but is killed, as it was said, by St. Ciaran himself with his crozier.
890	896	—	—	—	Scolaigh son of Macan, lord of Delbna Ethra, slain by the people of Clonmacnois, in revenge for which the tanist abbot, Mael-Achaidh, was killed the following year.
894	899	—	—	—	Cairbre Crom, bishop, wounded, with others, by the men of Connacht, at Inis Ainghin.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
—	901	—	—	—	Joseph succeeds Dedimus as abbot.
895	—	—	—	—	Cathal son of Conchobar, King of Connacht, reconciled to Flann the High-king, under the protection of the clergy of Ciaran.
904	908	—	901	—	The great stone church, called in AC the "Church of the Kings,"[1] built by King Flann and the Abbot Colman.
918	918	—	—	—	Great flood: the water reached the "Abbot's fort" and the "Cairn of the three Crosses."
920	921	921	918	—	Clonmacnois plundered and burned by Tomrar son of Ailghe of Limerick.
934	935	935	930	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the *Gaill* of Dublin, who stayed two nights in it: and again by Cellachan of Cashel and the men of Munster.
940	941	941	935	—	The half of Liathmore next the water granted to Clonmacnois.
940	941	941	935	—	Clonmacnois plundered by Blacaire and the *Gaill* of Dublin.
944	—	945	—	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the *Gaill* of Dublin.
—	—	—	942	—	"Contention at Clonmacnois between the fowl of the seas and the fowl of the land, where there was a great slaughter of crows."
951	952	952	948	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the *Gaill* of Limerick, with the Munstermen.
957	958	358	953	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the Munstermen under Mathgamhain, brother of Brian Bóroma. The termon burned, from the High Cross to the Shannon, both corn and mills.
960	—	—	—	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the men of Ossory. The termon of Ciaran plundered from the Shannon westward by the Munstermen.

[1] Not the Church now known as Teampull Righ, which is rather later.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
974	974	—	—	—	Dunchad ua Braein, Abbot, departs on pilgrimage to Armagh, where he remains thirteen years.
985	984	—	—	—	Clonmacnois burned the Friday before Easter.
—	991	—	986	—	Great mortality at Clonmacnois.
998	997	—	—	—	Nial son of Aghda, heir of Teathba, slain by the Calraighi at Clonmacnois, on the feast of St. Ciaran.
—	1000	—	—	—	Deposition of ua Begulain at Clonmacnois.
—	1005	—	—	—	The 'eneclair' of the great altar purchased by Mael-Sheehlainn, king of Ireland. (It is uncertain what this was.)
—	1013	—	—	—	The great oak of Finghin's churchyard overturned by a storm.
1015	1014	1016	—	—	Clonmacnois burned.
1018	—	—	1012	—	The shrine of Ciaran plundered by Domhnall son of Tadhg, who was killed a week later "by the miracles of St. Ciaran."
1020	1018	1020	1013	1020	Clonmacnois burned by the *Gaill*.
1022	1022	1022	1022	1022	Death of Mael-Sheehlainn, last King of all Ireland.
1023	—*	—	—	—	The termon of Clonmacnois plundered and many cows carried off, by Gadhra son of Dunadach.
1026	—	—	1026	—	The paved way from the "Abbess's Yard" (otherwise called the "Yard of the Sucking-pig") to the "Cairn of the three Crosses," made by Abbot Breasal.
1031	—	—	—	—	Conn na mBocht presented twenty of his cows to the poor, whom he invited to the "low land of St. Ciaran."

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
—	1032*	—	—	—	Skirmish between the Munstermen and the men of Teathba at Clonmacnois. A house captured by the Munstermen, who slew many of their opponents, along with the son of Bec ua Aghda.
1038	1035	1038	1038	1038	Two battles at Clonmacnois between the Delbhna and the ui Maine, on the Friday of Ciaran's feast. The ui Maine defeated, and fifty-three killed.
1043	1041	—	—	—	Aedh ua Coinfiacla, lord of Teathba, cursed with the staff of Jesus by the clergy of Ciaran.
1044	1042	—	1044	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the Munstermen in the absence of Donnchad, son of Brian. Donnchad afterwards gave reparation: namely, perfect freedom for the Church to God and to Ciaran till the Day of Judgment, and forty cows to be given by him immediately; with a curse on any of the Munstermen who should afterwards inflict any injury on the clergy of Ciaran. The settlement was again plundered in the same year by the Conmaicni, who also made reparation in consequence of a plague that broke out among them.
1045	—	—	—	—	Amalgaid son of Flann, chief of the Calraighi, "obtained forcible refection" at Clonmacnois, and died of an unknown disease three days later.
1045	—	—	—	1046	Art ua Ruairc, King of Connacht, slain by the Cinel Chonaill two years after having plundered Clonmacnois.
1050	1048	1049	—	1050	Clonmacnois plundered thrice in three months: namely, once by the Sil Anmchada and twice by the Calraighi and the Sinnacha.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1060	1058	---	1060	1060	Raid of the Eli and the ui Forgga on Clonmacnois. Prisoners taken even from the "Cross of the Scriptures" (which was a sanctuary), and two persons killed, namely, a student and a layman. The Delbhna pursued the plunderers and delivered the prisoners, killing the tanist of the ui Forgga, who had killed the student. "The cows came back through the miracle of Ciaran, at the time of rising on the morrow."
1063	1062*	—	—	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the Conmaicni and ui Maine; but the plunderers pursued and slaughtered by Aedh ua Conchobair, King of Connacht.
1068	—	—	1067	—	Murchad Short-shield, grandson of Brian Bóroma, slain by the men of Teathba; his head carried to Clonmacnois, his body to Durrow.
1070	—	—	—	—	Two causeways made by Mael-Chiarain son of Conn na mBocht, namely, one from the "Cross of Bishop Etchen" to "Irdom Chiarain," the other from the "Cairn of the Three Crosses" to the "Cross of Congal."
1073	1070*	—	1070	—	The head of Conchobar ua Maeil-Shechlainn forcibly carried from the church at Clonmacnois by Toirdelbhach ua Briain, who was compelled, however, to return it along with two gold rings by way of compensation. For he was smitten with a miraculous disease, imparted to him by a mouse that issued from the head, and ran under his garment.
1077	1074*	—	—	—	Clonmacnois all burned, except the churches (according to AT, except the "Church of the Gapped Bell of Ciaran").
1080	1076	—	1076	—	The people of Coosane, three miles north of Athlone, pillaged Clonmacnois, for which they were in their turn plundered in the following year by Mael-Shechlainn son of Conchobar.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1081	—	—	1078	—	Gilla-Siadnata son of Amhalgaid, lord of Calraighi, plundered Clonmacnois, but was slain the same (following, AC) year "through the miracles of Ciaran."
1082	1078	—	1080	—	The Nuns' Cemetery and the eastern half of the establishment burned.
1086	1082	—	—	—	Death of Toirdelbhach of the disease he had contracted in seizing the head of Conchobar.
1089	1088	—	—	—	The fleet of the Munstermen plunder the Shannon monasteries, but are repulsed from Clonmacnois.
—	1089	—	1087	—	The "Low land of Ciaran" purchased in perpetuity by Cormac, son of Conn na mBocht from the King of Meath.
—	1090	—	—	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the Delbhna.
1092	1091*	1092	—	1092	The Munstermen plundered Clonmacnois "when the door of the church was closed with stones." Great persecution from evil men against Clonmacnois this year, so that nearly the whole city was laid waste. (One account says that it was the Conmaicni who plundered the monastery this year.)
1095	—	—	1094	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the men of Breghmaine, and the same day by "the son of McCoghlan and Delvyn" (AC).
—	1097*	—	1100	—	Battle at Clonmacnois between the people of Tadhgan and those of Cinaeth—the former victorious. Gilla Finn, King of the Sil Anmchada, killed.
1098	—	—	—	—	The oratory of Clonmacnois burned by Cucaille mac Aedha, of the people of Tlaman.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1104	—	—	1100	—	The shingles of the great stone church and the tower end of its walls (by some called McDermot's church, AC), which had been begun by Conn na mBocht, finished by Flaithbertach ua Loingsigh.
1106	1102	—	1105	—	Mael-Muire, son of Conn na mBocht, who transcribed the *Lebor na h Uidri*, killed by plunderers in the middle of the stone church.
—	1104*	—	—	—	The clergy of Ciaran "fasted against" Mael-Shechlainn, demanding the freedom of the great church of Magh Enir, and "mox vindicavit Deus," by the *tase* of Muircertach through Ireland.
1111	1107*	—	—	—	Clonmacnois plundered by the Dal gCais at the instance of Muircertach ua Briain.
—	1107	—	—	—	Synod of Uisnech, when the land of Meath was divided between the bishops of Clonard and Clonmacnois, the former taking the part east of Clochan-an-Imrim, the latter the part west of it. Gilla Christ ua Maeil-Eoin, Bishop.
1113	1109	—	—	—	A salmon 12 feet long caught at Clonmacnois (at Limerick, CS).
1115	1111*	—	—	—	Toirdelbhach ua Conchobair presented to Clonmacnois a gilt drinking-horn, chalice, and paten. Clonmacnois plundered by the Munstermen.
—	1114 AT	—	—	—	Ua Loingsigh, King of Dal Araidhi, desecrated the gapped bell of St. Ciaran, and was slain within a month.
1124	1120	—	—	—	The belfry finished by ua Maeil-Eoin, Bishop.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1129	1125*	—	1129	—	The high altar in the stone church pillaged, and the following treasures carried off: (1) model(?) of Solomon's Temple, presented by Mael-Shechnaill mac Domhnaill; (2) the standing-cup of Donnchad mac Floinn; (3) the drinking-horn of ua Riada, King of Aradh; (4) a silver chalice, chased with gold, with an ornament engraved by the daughter of Ruadhri ua Conchobair, or marked with her stamp, AC; (5) the silver cup of Cellach, Archbishop of Armagh; (6–8) the three pieces presented in 1115. The clergy made incessant prayer to God and to Ciaran to reveal the thief.
1130	1126*	—	1130	—	The treasures stolen the previous year found with one Gilla-Comhgain of the *Gaill* of Limerick. The thief hanged by the King of Munster. He had attempted to take ship from Cork, Lismore, and Waterford with his booty, but every ship in which he embarked was kept back by adverse winds. St. Ciaran himself was seen by the thief, restraining the ships with his crozier.
1135	1131	—	—	—	The top of the belfry struck off by lightning.
—	—	—	1135	—	Clonmacnois burnt on Easter Sunday, with the churchyard of Muiredach ua Dubhthaigh and the "Abbot's fort."
1141	1141	—	—	—	Mael-Mochta, Bishop, attacked and robbed by the Sil Anmchada at Cloonfinlough, but the booty restored immediately.
1149	1149	—	—	—	The yew-tree of St. Ciaran struck by lightning; 113 sheep killed under it.
1150	1150*	—	—	—	Congalach ua Braein, lord of Breghmaine, killed by the people of Cethernach, at the "Field of the Milch Cow," Clonmacnois.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1155	—	—	1153	—	The men of Breghmaine carry off the swine of Clonmacnois; the clergy followed them in vain as far as the "Fort of the Gospel." In consequence, the Breghmaini sustained a defeat the following day at the hands of the people of Mael-Sinna.
1158	—	—	1158	—	The Bishops of Connacht, with Aedh, Archbishop of Tuam, and two of the successors of Ciaran, stopped while on their way to a convocation of clergy at the bridge over the Shannon at Clonmacnois, and plundered and beaten by the men of ua Mael-Shechlainn, King of Meath (by the rebel, Carpreach, AC).
1161	—*	—	1158	—	Diarmaid ua Maeil-Shechlainn, lord of half Meath, gave Beann Artghaile (a place not identified) to God and Ciaran.
1163	—	—	—	—	Clonmacnois and other shrines violated by Niall, son of the King of Ireland.
1164	—	—	—	—	Clonmacnois burned.
1167	—	—	1180	—	The Nuns' Church finished by Derbhforgaill, daughter of Murchad ua Maeil-Shechlainn. A church erected by Conchobar ua Cellaigh and the ui Maine "in place of the Dertheach."
—	—	—	1170	—	Great convocation at Clonfert by commission from the Pope, for the reform of Irish clerical abuses. Money coined in Clonmacnois this year.
1174	—	—	—	—	The diocese of Westmeath annexed to Clonmacnois.
1178	—	—	—	—	Hugo, Constable of the King of England in Dublin and Meath, marched to Clonmacnois with his forces, and plundered the whole town except the churches.
1179	—	—	—	—	Clonmacnois violated, and 105 houses burned.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
—	—	—	1200	—	Meyler Fitz-Henry came with the English from Leinster, and remained two days at Clonmacnois, and plundered it.
—	—	—	—	1203	William Burk plundered Clonmacnois.
1207	—	—	—	—	The remains of Ruaidhri ua Conchobair, King of Connacht, disinterred and deposited in a stone shrine.
—	—	—	1213	1214	The castle of Clonmacnois built by the English.
—	—	—	1202	—	The English, under William Burk, from Meelick, with certain native allies plundered Clonmacnois on St. Gregory's Day, and again the Friday following, taking from the church the holy vestments, books, chalices, linen, and corn, and whatever else they could finger, leaving the crofts, gardens, and houses waste and void, like an empty chaos, without any manner of thing but their empty and foot-trodden grounds.
—	—	—	1204	—	William Burk spoiled Clonmacnois and other shrines, but died that year.
—	—	—	1205	—	Great fire at Clonmacnois, when forty-seven houses, about the "abbot's fort," were burned, as well as a stone altar made by Mael-Shechlainn ua Maeil-Shechlainn.
—	—	—	—	1223	Clonmacnois burnt and many jewels, including two churches.
1547	—	—	—	—	Great storm in Ireland, which threw down many churches and monasteries, including the two western wings of the great church of Clonmacnois.
1552	—	—	—	—	Clonmacnois plundered and devastated by the English of Athlone. The large bells taken from the belfry.[1] Not a bell, large or small, an image or an altar, or a book or a gem, or even glass in a window left which was not carried away.

[1] A bell from Clonmacnois (recast) still hangs in the belfry of St. Mary's Church, Athlone.

The following references to Clonmacnois appear in Sweetman's "Calendar of Documents" relating to Ireland:—

1202, Aug. 15.—King to Papal Legate, renewing an appeal against the Bishops of Clogher, Clonmacnois, Kells, and Ardagh, and others, who have shown a manifest desire to work against the king's right and dignity regarding the church of Armagh.

1216, May 30.—King commands justiciary of Ireland to compensate the Bishop of Clonmacnois for his land occupied in fortifying the castle of Clonmacnois, for his fruit-trees cut down, his cows, horses, oxen, and household utensils taken away.

1221, Oct. 28.—Geoffrey de Mariscis, late justiciary of Ireland, surrendered to the king certain castles including Clonmacnois, and the king quit-claims to Geoffrey all account, question, and quest touching his office.

1224, Mar. 30.—The king commits during pleasure to Richard de Tuit the custody of the castle of Clonmacnois, Richard to receive at the Exchequer, Dublin, 20*l.* a year for the custody. Mandate to Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, to deliver the castle and pay the money to Richard, taking from him surety for faithful service.

1232, Jan. 27.—Mandate to Maurice Fitz Gerald, justiciary of Ireland, that when the Irish castles shall have been delivered by Richard de Burgh, in accordance with the king's command, he retain in hand the castle of Clonmacnois and certain others.

1238, Apr. 8.—Royal assent to the election of Thomas, Dean of Clonmacnois, to the bishopric.

1238, Apr. 18.—Assent to the same election, by the justiciary's licence, on account of the poverty of the see of Clonmacnois, though the election should not have been made without the king's licence first obtained. Mandate to Maurice Fitz Gerald, justiciary of Ireland, that when the Archbishop of Armagh shall have confirmed the election he give seisin to the elect of all the lands of the see whereof Elias his predecessor was seised when he resigned it.

1251, July 8.—Letter of simple protection for Thomas, Bishop of Clonmacnois.

1251, July 8.—Order from the king to his bailiffs of Bristol to cause Thomas, Bishop of Clonmacnois, to have out of the farm of their vill 100*s.* of the king's gift for his expenses.

1252, Feb. 20.—Royal assent to the postulation made of Thomas Occuin [O'Quin] of the Franciscan order, as Bishop of Clonmacnois. Mandate thereupon to the justiciary.

1255, July 29.—Mandate to the justiciary's lieutenant to respite a plaint made by Thomas, Bishop of Clonmacnois, against Florence, Archbishop of Tuam, touching land in Connacht, till the arrival in Ireland of Edward, the king's eldest son and heir, and of John Fitz Geoffrey, justiciary of Ireland, that it may be determined before them.

1259, Hilary.—Milo O'Conor, Archdeacon of Clonmacnois, and William de Gernville, rector of the church of Arthinurchir, acknowledge that they owe Adam de Basinges, citizen of London, three lasts of hides, to be delivered at Dublin at the nativity of St. John Baptist, *anno regis* 44, and grant that they shall be distrained by the barons of the exchequer if the hides are not then delivered.

1259–60, Jan. 26.—Declaration of the Archbishop of Tuam that certain canons of Elphin had, contrary to the custom of the kingdom, presumed to elect Milo, Archdeacon of Clonmacnois, without waiting for the king's licence, and in contempt of the dean, archdeacon, and treasurer, to the see of Elphin, left vacant by his own translation to the archbishopric. That finding the election improper, he had decreed that it be quashed. That the elect had presumed to carry away the king's letters of licence, obtained by the dean and archdeacon. That the archbishop's delegates having declared that the power to elect on this occasion had devolved on the dean and archdeacon and their associates of Elphin, he had, by virtue of his authority as metropolitan, approved their sentence; and that Thomas, Abbot of Boyle, had in consequence been elected. He prays the king to grant the royal assent to this election.

1259–60, Jan. 30.—Letter to the justiciary [crossing the last quoted] giving the king's assent to the election of Milo: and [Feb. 3] a notification to the Archbishop of Tuam to the same effect.

1260, Apr. 10.—Reply to the letter of the Archbishop of Tuam, praying the archbishop to inform him which of the elect he can admit without detriment. [Finally Milo was confirmed in the bishopric of Elphin (1260, Nov. 8) and held it till his death in 1261–2, when his rival, Thomas of Boyle, succeeded him.]

1280, July 20.—Mandate to the justiciary to accept a fine from the dean and chapter of Clonmacnois for electing a monk of the Franciscan order as their bishop without the royal licence (the messenger to the king announcing the death of Thomas, the former bishop, having died on the journey), and then to give the royal assent in lieu of the king to the election, and, if the elect be confirmed, to take fealty from and deliver the temporalities to him, having first received letters under the seals of himself and of the chapter, that this grace shall not tend to the king's prejudice nor be converted into a precedent.

1281, July 27.—Royal assent to the election of Gilbert, Dean of Clonmacnois, to the bishopric, and mandate to the justiciary to receive fealty from him in the king's name, to spare him the expense of the journey, having first taken letters that this grace shall not tend to the king's prejudice or disherison, nor be converted into a precedent.

1288, June 17.—Petition from the dean and chapter to elect a bishop in place of Gilbert, resigned.

1288, July 12.—Licence to elect, directed to the dean and chapter, for Maurice le Dekne, sacristan of the church.

1290, July 15.—Licence for the election of William O'Duffy with mandate to the justiciary to receive fealty to spare labour and expenses. Notification [dated July 18] to the archbishop of the royal assent to the election.

1297, Aug. 5.—Licence to elect in place of William, late bishop, with grant to the justiciary to receive fealty in place of the king.

1302, Aug. 27.—Petition from the dean and chapter to elect a bishop in place of William, deceased.

1302, Oct. 12.—Licence to elect granted, the decease of Bishop William having been announced by Maurice of Athlone.

1303, Apr. 14.—Royal assent to the postulation of Donald O'Bruyn, guardian of the house of the Franciscans of Killech, as bishop of Clonmacnois.

The following were the amounts due from the Diocese of Clonmacnois in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland, 1302–1306:—From the bishop for tenth, 9*s.* less one penny. The archdeacon, 7*s.* 8*d.* The dean, 2*s.* The prebends of all the canons of the cathedral, 2*s.* The rector of Loghloch, 20*s.* The vicar of the same vill, 6*s.* 8*d.* The priory of Galyn, 2*s.* The vicar of Fyrn, 12*d.* The community of nuns of Kelbyguneth, 12*d.* The vicar of Tethsaran, 1¼*d.* The vicar of Leith, nothing, as the vicarage was devastated by war. Sum of taxation, 25*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*: the tenth 51*s.* 4½*d.*

Mention should be made of the visit of Columba to Clonmacnois during the abbacy of Ailithir (AQM 589–595 A.D.). According to Adamnan, the saint came to the brethren of Ciaran some months after the foundation of Durrow. These gathered together from the little fields around the monastery, and received Columba with all respect "as an angel of the Lord," and, greeting him with a reverent kiss, escorted him with hymns and praises to the church. To protect him from inconvenient thronging, four brethren bore a wooden canopy

over him. A humble boy, an unsatisfactory servitor in the monastery, came behind Columba to touch the hem of his garment: the saint, miraculously apprised of this, caught him by the neck and held him, despite the protests of the brethren that he should let this "unhappy and noxious boy" depart. Then, blessing the tongue of the boy (stretched forth for this purpose at the saint's command), he prophesied his increase in wisdom and knowledge, and his future eminence as a preacher. This boy was Ernin or Mernoc (*Mo Ern'-oce*), the patron saint of Kilmarnock; he himself related the story to Abbot Scighin in the presence of Failbhe, predecessor of Adamnan, who communicated it to Adamnan himself. The Life of St. Ciaran adds that St. Columba received some of the sacred earth of Ciaran, and later when on his journey to Hy that he stilled the dangerous whirlpool of Corrievieckan by casting it into its midst.

Part II.—The "Roll-call" of Clonmacnois.

In using this list it must be remembered that there is some looseness to be noticed in the different Annals as regards the use of such terms as 'abbot' and 'bishop,' or 'prior,' 'tanist abbot,' and 'vice-abbot.'

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
548	548	548	548	—	Ciaran, founder and abbot.
—	—	—	548	—	Lughaidh, priest *floruit.*
569	570*	569 or 576	569	—	Oenna maccu Laigisi, abbot.
589	584*	584 or 590	587	—	Macnisse, of Ulster, abbot, 13th June.
595	599*	598	590	—	Ailithir, of the Muscraidhe, abbot.
606	610*	609	—	—	Aedh son of Colcan, chief of Oriel and the Oriors, died on pilgrimage at Clonmacnois.
609	614*	613	617	—	Tolua Fota, of the Corco Moga (otherwise Lucaill; in AC, Folva Fota): abbot.
610	615	—	617	—	Gorman, of Mughdhorna, anchorite.
623	628*	—	627	—	Colman maccu Barddani, of the Dal Baird of Ulster (McLardan, AC): abbot.
637	637*	637	637	—	Cronan maccu Loeghdi, abbot, 18th July.
651	649*	651	—	—	Aedhlug son of Camman (otherwise Saman), of the Gailenga of Corann, abbot, 26th February.
662	659*	662	—	—	Guaire of Aidhne, son of Colman, King of Connacht, buried at Clonmacnois.
663	660	663	—	—	Baetan maccu Cormaic, of the Conmaicni Mara, abbot, 1st March.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
664	661*	664	664	—	Colman Cas son of Fualascach, of the Corco Moga, abbot. Cumine, of the Gregaige of Loch Techet, abbot.
681	679*	—	678	—	Colman, of Airteeh, abbot.
684	682*	—	681	—	Forcron (Foriron, AC), abbot.
692	690*	693	689	—	Cronan Becc (or Crónbec), of Cuailnge, abbot, 6th April.
701	702*	705	—	—	Oissene son of Gallust, of Fremhain, of the Calraigi of Teathba, abbot.
711	709*	712	—	—	Failbhe Becc, of the Gailenga of Corann, abbot.
719	—*	722	—	—	Indrechtach son of Muiredach, King of Connacht, died on pilgrimage at Clonmacnois.
720	--	723	722	—	Cuindles, of the Sogain of Connacht, abbot.
724	—	729	727	—	MacConchumba, scribe.
726	—*	731	729	—	Flann Sinna ua Colla, of the ui Cremthainn (Flann of Cuala, AT), abbot.
732	—*	736	734	—	Conamhail ua Loichene, of the Cianachta Breag, abbot.
735	—*	739	737	—	Cellach son of Sechde, from Buidemnach, of the Conmaicne, abbot.
742	—	746	—	—	Conman of Ros, a man full of the grace of God, abbot.
748	—*	752	749	—	Luicridh (of Corcelig, AT), abbot, 29th April.
751	—	755	—	—	Ailgal, anchorite.
753	—*	—	754	—	Gorman, father of Torbach, Archbishop of Armagh, in pilgrimage at Clonmacnois.
757	—*	761	758	—	Cormac, of the race of Coirbre Crom, abbot.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
759	—*	763	—	—	Ronan of the Luaighni, abbot.
763	—	767	—	—	Ua Miannaigh, abbot.
765	—	769	—	—	Folachtach of Tech Tuac, abbot.
766	—	770	—	—	Forbasach ua Cernaigh, of the ui Briuin, abbot.
768	—	—	—	—	Gallbran ua Lingain, scribe.
771	—	775	769	—	Collbran (Colman, AC), abbot.
779	—	783	781	—	Rechtnia, of the race of Cairbre Crom, abbot.
781	—	785	783	—	Snedriaghail, abbot.
784	—	788	—	—	Murgal, of the race of Fiachra son of Eochaid Mugmedhon, abbot.
786	—	790	787	—	Saerbherg, abbot.
789	—	793	791	—	Joseph ua Cernaigh, of the Cianachta Bregh, abbot.
789	—	795	—	—	Colgu ua Duinechda, author of the "Besom of Devotion,"[1] 20th February.
792	—	796	—	—	Aelmidhair, of the Sil Maelruanaidh, steward.
793	—	797	—	—	Conmach son of Burboth, grandson of Guaire Aidhne, scribe.
794	—	798	—	—	Anaile, of the ui Briuin, abbot.
804	—	808	—	—	Cu-Ciarain, prior.
806	—	810	—	—	Tuathgal, abbot.
809	814	813	—	—	Forchellach of Fobhar, of the Galenga Mora, abbot.
809	—	813	—	—	Tuathal son of Dubhta, scribe and doctor.

[1] Of his works and his conversation with St. Paul, see *Martyrology of Donegal*, ed. O'Donovan, p. 55.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
811	816	815	—	—	Suibhne son of Cuanach, of the ui Briuin of Magh Seola, abbot. He died thirty days after the great fire in this year.
814	—	—	—	—	Duibhinsi, scribe.
821	823	—	—	—	Congal[1] son of Irgalach, prior.
834	823	834	832	—	Aedhagan son of Tormach, Abbot of Lughmagh, died in pilgrimage at Clonmacnois. His son remained there, and was ancestor of Conn na mBocht.
—	—	—	834	—	Flann, prior.
837	838	—	—	—	Ruaidhri, tanist-abbot, vice-abbot of Clonard.
838	—	838	—	—	Aidean, prior, abbot of Roscrea.
—	843	—	—	—	Congalach[1] son of Irgalach, tanist abbot.
842	844	843	841	—	Ronan, of the Luaighni of Ros Temrach, formerly abbot. He had resigned the abbacy in 823 (CS), 822 (AU).
846	847	—	—	—	Eoghan son of Aedhagan, died at Clonmacnois.
848	850	849	—	—	Cetadach, of the ui Chormaic of Maenmagh, abbot.
855	—	—	—	—	Mael-Oena son of Ollbran, of the Luighni of Connacht, lector.
863	—	—	—	—	Luchairen, son of Eoghan, son of Aedhagan, father of Egertach, died.
866	868	867	866	—	Connmach (Cormac, AC), of the race of Eochaid Gall, abbot.
867	869	866	—	—	Martan, of the Dartraighe of Daimhinis, abbot.
869	—	870	—	—	Mael-Midhe son of Cumasgach, prior.
870	872	871	—	—	Ferdomnach, of the Mughdhorna, abbot.

[1] These two entries must relate to the same person.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
873	875	874	—	—	Maengal, prior.
874	876–7	876	—	—	Eoghan Tobair, abbot. Mael-Tuile ua Cuanach, of the Luighni of Connacht, abbot.
883	885	—	—	—	Mael-Patraic of the ui Maine, abbot.
886	889	—	—	—	Mael-Odhar (otherwise Tuadhcar), bishop. Flann, mother of King Flann Sinna, died, "after a good life and after penance at Clonmacnois."
887	891	890	—	—	Suibhne son of Mael-Umha, anchorite and scribe. Cormac, prior, and abbot of Fobhar.
888	892	891	—	—	Mael-Brighde na Gamhnaidhe, of Gabhar, abbot.
889	—	893	—	—	Fergus son of Mael-Michil, steward.
891	897	—	—	—	Mael-Achaidh, tanist abbot and abbot of Daimhinis, killed in revenge for Scolaighe.
891	896	895	—	—	Blathmac son of Tairceltach (otherwise Taircedach), of Breghmaine, abbot.
895	—	—	—	—	Finghin, anchorite.
899	904	903	—	—	Cairbre Crom (otherwise Cam), bishop, 6th March.[1] Joseph, of Loch Con, of Northern ui Fiachrach, abbot.
914	915	915	910	—	Mael-Barrfind, priest.
914	915	915	904	—	Flann Sinna, High-king of Ireland.
918	918	—	—	—	Loingsech, bishop.
918	—	919	—	—	Scannal (otherwise Scannlan), scribe, abbot of Roscrea.
920	—	—	—	—	Ferdalach, priest.

[1] Famous for his vision of the ghost of King Mael-Shechlainn: see the *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 67.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
921	922	—	919	—	Fiachra of Eaglais Beag. Mael-Tuile son of Colman, lector. Ligach, daughter of Flann and wife of Mael-Mithidh, lord of Bregh, buried at Clonmacnois with great pomp. Dedimus ua Foirbthen, tanist.
924	925	925	921	—	Colman son of Ailill, abbot, a bishop and wise doctor ; also abbot of Clonard.
926	925	925	921	—	Muirgal, daughter of Flann, died, a rich old woman.
928	—	—	—	—	Mael-Girie, abbot of the house of the elders. Mael-Moicheirge, steward.
929	930	930	—	—	Tibraide son of Ainnsene, after a long illness.
937	938	—	—	—	Domnall son of Lorcan, lord of Aidhne, died at Clonmacnois.
940	941	941	935	—	Dunnchad son of Suthainen, bishop.
942	943	—	937	—	Guaire son of Mael-Ecan, priest.
946	947	947	—	—	Aumere (otherwise Adlai) ua Cathlain, of the ui mic Uais of Meath, abbot, in a venerable old age.
947	948	—	—	—	Oenach son of Egeertach, bailiff[1] of Eaglais Beag, a bishop and celibate. He was brother of Dunadach, of the tribe of Mughdhorna.
948	—	—	—	—	Donngal ua Maeil-Midhe, lector. Rechtabra son of Maenach, chief priest. Oenghus son of Bran, priest.
950	951	—	947	—	Ferdamnach ua Maenaigh, of the Corco Mogha, abbot.
952	953	953	—	—	Celechair, abbot.
953	954	—	950	—	Dunadach son of Egeertach, bishop.
964	964	—	—	—	Cormac ua Cillene, bishop.

[1] I use this word (for want of a better) for *airchinneach*, the superintendent of the church lands.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
969	969	970	—	—	Tuathal, bishop and abbot.
977	977	—	972	—	Flann son of Mael-Michil, lector, bishop of Cluain Deochra. Cathasach, bailiff of Eaglais Beag.
979	978	—	—	—	Murchad son of Riada, prior, abbot of Roscommon.
986	—	—	—	—	Broen ua hAedha, bailiff of Eaglais Beag.
987	986	988	981	—	Dunnchad ua Braein, abbot, "a most excellent and religious scribe," died in pilgrimage at Armagh, 16th January.
988	988*	989	983	—	Loingsech son of Mael-Patraic, lector.
1023					Erard mac Coisi, chief poet of the Irish, died in penance at Clonmacnois.[1]
991	990	991	—	—	Mael-Finnia son of Spelan, abbot.
994	—	—	—	—	Odran ua Eolais, lector.
996	—	—	990	—	Dubthach ua Thadgain son of Dubhfinn, priest.
997	996	—	—	—	Conaing ua Cosgraig, a distinguished bishop.
999	—	—	—	—	Diarmaid Conaillech, lector.
1000	999	—	994	—	Mael-Poil, bishop.
1002	—	1002	—	—	Flannchad ua Ruaidhne, of the tribe of Corca Mogha, abbot.
1005	—	—	—	—	Dunnchad son of Dunadach, lector, senior of the race of Conn na mBocht.
1006	—	—	—	—	Robhartach ua hAilgiusa, anchorite, of the Breghmaine.
1009	1008	—	—	—	Conaing son of Aedhagan, bishop.
1011	—	—	—	—	Connmac ua Tomhrair, priest and chief singer.

[1] See curious stories of this person in AC, and foot-notes to AQM., ed. O'Donovan.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1013	—	1015	—	—	Flaithbertach son of Domhnall, of the Clan Colmain, abbot.
1014	—	—	—	—	Aedh son of Tadhg, lord of ui Maine, killed at Clonmacnois.
1017	—	—	1010	—	Muiredach Ultach, anchorite and confessor.
1022	1022	—	—	—	Cathasach ua Garbhain of the Cuircni, lector. Joseph son of Dunnchadh, confessor, father of Conn na mBocht.
1024	—	—	1024	—	Fachtna, "the most distinguished abbot of the Irish," died in pilgrimage at Rome.
1025	—	1025	—	—	Muiredach son of Mughron, abbot of Clonmacnois and Roscommon.
1028	—	—	—	—	Mael-Patraic ua Baeghlain, priest. Cernach, doorkeeper.
1030	—	1030	—	—	Breasal Comaillech, abbot.
1032	—	—	—	—	Duibhinnsi, bellringer.
1034	—	—	—	—	Oengus son of Flann, lector, chief sage of the west of the world.
1037	—	—	—	—	Cairbre son of Rodach, bailiff of Eaglais Beag.
1038	1035	1038	1038	1038	Flaithbertach son of Loingsech, bishop and lector.
1042	1040	1042	—	—	Loingsech ua Flaithen, abbot.
1052	1052	1052	—	—	Echtigern ua Egrain, of the Soghan of ui Maine, abbot, died on pilgrimage at Clonard.
1054	—	—	—	—	Guairc ua Lachtnain, lector.
1056	—	—	—	—	Mael-Finnen son of Conn na mBocht, abbot.
1059	1057	1060	—	—	Conn na mBocht, bishop and anchorite, the glory and dignity of Clonmacnois, at an advanced age.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1061	—	—	—	—	Mael-Coluim ua Loingsigh, doctor and priest.
1063	—	—	—	—	Ua Midhachain, lector. Conaing ua hEgra, lector.
1066	—	—	—	—	Fogartach Finn, anchorite, an Ulsterman.
1067	1064	—	1066	1067	Celechair of Mughdhorna, bishop.
1070	1067	1070	—	—	Ailill ua hAirrechtaigh, of the Corco Raidhe, bishop, died on pilgrimage to Clonard. Donngal, tanist abbot, and chief lector of Conn's Half.
1077	—	—	—	—	Mael-Martain maccu Certa, doctor.
1079	1076	1079	—	—	Mael-Chiarain son of Conn na mBocht, the glory and veneration of Clonmacnois.
1080	1076	—	—	—	Muiredach son of Mughron, lector.
1081	—	—	1078	—	Fothad ua hAille, chief confessor of Clonmacnois and of Conn's Half.
1082	1078	—	1080	—	Cinaeth ua Ruaidhin, tanist abbot.
1085	—	—	—	—	Gilla-Christ son of Conn na mBocht, the glory and ornament of Clonmacnois, the best ecclesiastical student of his time.
—	1084	1088	—	—	Tighernach ua Braein, of the race of Muiredach, author of the Annals of Tighernach, abbot and bailiff.
1089	1088	—	—	—	Conchobar son of Fogartach ua Maeilduin, prior.
1093	—	1093	1092	—	Ailill ua Niallain, tanist abbot. Aed ua Canannain, bailiff of the guesthouse.
1100	—	—	—	—	Cumedha ua Laeghachain, chief of the race of Ronan, died after long pilgrimage, at an advanced age, in the house of Conn na mBocht.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1100	—	—	—	—	Gilla na Naemh ua hEidhin, lord of West Connacht, buried at Clonmacnois.
1101	—	—	—	—	Mael-Chiarain ua Donnghusa, doctor.
1103	1099	—	—	—	Cormac, a man of wealth, tanist abbot, and Mael-Isa, two sons of Conn na mBocht.
—	1100*	—	—	—	Gilla-Christ ua hEchtigern, bishop.
1105	—	—	—	—	Muircertach ua Catharnaigh, doctor.
1106	1102	—	1105	—	Muiredach ua Mailduin, prior. Cormac ua Cillin, bailiff of the guest-house. Muircertach ua Cernaigh, of the Luaighni of Connacht, chief lector. Mael-Muire son of Conn na mBocht, killed in the stone church.
1109	—	—	1108	—	Flathbertach ua Loingsigh, abbot.
1115	1114*	1118	—	1118	Ruaidhri ua Conchobair, formerly king of Connacht, died at Clonmacnois on pilgrimage, twenty-six years after having been blinded by Flaithbertach, his godson.
1116	—	—	—	—	Congalach, son of Gilla-Chiarain, bailiff of the guest-house.
1127	1123	1127	—	—	Gilla-Christ ua Maeil-Eoin, bishop and abbot, fountain of the wisdom, the ornament and the magnificence of Conn's Half.
1128	1124	—	—	—	Ceinnedigh ua Conghail, bailiff of the guest-house. Gilla an Coimded, tanist abbot.
—	1128	—	—	—	Uaireirge ua Nechtain, head of the Celi De.
1134	1130	—	—	—	Celechair, great-grandson of Conn na mBocht, doctor and historian, president of council, and director of hospitality of Clonmacnois, 5th Sept. Cormac, brother of the said Celechair, priest, died in "Ciaran's Bed" on Michaelmas night.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1136	—	—	—	1137	Domnall ua Dubhthaigh, abbot, Archbishop of Connacht, died after celebration of Mass at Clonfert.
1153	—	—	1153	—	Aedh ua Maeil-Eoin, bishop, called, on account of his charity, the "fountain of the happiness of Conn's half."
1156	—*	1156	1153	—	Toirdelbhach ua Conchobair, King of Connacht, buried with great pomp at Clonmacnois.
1166	—	—	—	—	Celechair ua Conghaile, bailiff of the guest-house.
1167	—	—	—	—	Dearbhail, daughter of Donnchad ua Maeil-Shechlainn, died "after the victory of will and confession." Uada ua Conceanain, formerly lord of ui Diarmada, which he resigned for a religious life.
1168	—	—	—	—	Duaric ua Thadgain, priest.
1169	—	1169	—	—	Congalach ua Tomaltaigh, chief lector, and paragon of wisdom of the Irish.
1170	—	—	1170	—	Mael-Mordha mac Uaircirghe, doctor, the prosperity and affluence of Clonmacnois, and head of its Celi De.
1172	—	1172	—	—	Tighernach ua Maeil-Eoin, bishop. Gilla Christ son of the said Tighernach.
1173	—	1173	—	—	Mael-Mochta ua Maeil-Shechlainn (otherwise ua Fiadbra), abbot.
—	—	—	—	1181	Brian Luighnech son of Toirdelbach ua Conchobair; Mael-Shechlainn, Muiredhach, and Muircertach, three sons of Aedh son of Toirdelbach; Aedh, grandson of Aedh son of Ruadhri, King of West Connacht; Donnchad son of Brian ua Fallamhain, these, with others, noble and ignoble, slain at the battle of Magh Diuba, and interred at Clonmacnois.
1181	—	—	—	—	Mael-Chiarain ua Foidhabra, bishop.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
—	—	—	—	1196	(. . . .)aigh ua Catharnaigh, priest, died in Cill Beacain in the novitiate of a monk.
1187	—	—	—	—	Muircertach ua Maeil-Uidhir, Bishop of Clonfert and Clonmacnois.
1198	—	1198 or 1199	—	—	Ruaidhri ua Conchobhair, last king of Ireland, died at Cong, and was buried at the north side of the altar in the stone church.
1200	—	—	—	—	Uair-Eirghe son of Mael-Mordha, doctor, head of the Celi De of Clonmacnois, one full of the love of God, 10th May.
1205	—	—	—	—	Conchobar ua Brain of Breghmaine, on pilgrimage. Tadg, son of Cathal Craebhderg.
1213	—	—	1214	1214	Muirigen ua Muirigein, bishop, slain by the Gaill.
1219	—	1220	—	—	Aed ua Maeil-Eoin, bishop, drowned.
1230	—	1230	—	1230	Mael-Muire ua Maeil-Eoin, bishop.
1253	—	1253	—	1253	David son of Cellach, bishop; Tomas mac Cuinn, a friar minor, of Cashel, consecrated in his place at Rome.
1263	—	—	1263	1263	Mael-Ciarain ua Mael-Eoin, abbot.
1278	—	1278	—	1278	Tomas na Cuinn, bishop.
—	—	—	1283	—	Cathal mac Taidhg ua Ceallaigh, buried at Clonmacnois.
—	—	1297	—	—	William ua Dubhthaigh, bishop, killed by a fall from his horse.
—	—	—	1302	1302	William ua Finnen, bishop.
1337	—	—	1337	1337	Lughaidh ua Dalaigh, bishop.
—	—	—	1384	—	Pól mac Taidhg, bishop.

AQM	CS AT	AU	AC	ALC	
1461	—	—	—	—	Ua Maeil-Eoin, dean, "The most learned man in all Ireland"; perhaps the same as "Dominus Odo, decanus," whose name is inscribed on the fifteenth-century north door of the cathedral.
1508	—	—	—	—	Walter Blake, bishop.
1533	—	—	—	—	Cathaoir mac Cochlain, bailiff.
1590	—	—	—	—	Ruaidhri ua Maeil-Eoin, a man of wealth, representative of the Bishop of Clonmacnois.

To the above list may be added the following names of Bishops of Clonmacnois, collected in Ware's *Bishops* from various documents, though not recorded in the Annals:—

1236. Elias.
1288. Gilbert.
1303. Donald O'Bruin.
1367. Henry.
c. 1380. Richard.
1388. Philip.
1390. Milo Cory.
1397. O'Galchor.
1411. Peter.
1422. Philip O'Maeil.
1423. David Brendog.
1442. Cormac mac Coughlan.
1444. John Oldais.
1486. John.
c. 1516. Thomas.
1533. Quintin.
1539. Flann Gerawan.
1568. Peter Wall.

Part III.—The Remains of the Monastery.

Besides the monumental slabs, which have been fully treated of in the foregoing pages, the antiquities still to be seen at Clonmacnois, or known to have been associated with the site, are as follows :—

A. Church Buildings.
B. Round Towers.
C. Holy Wells.
D. Earthworks and Roadways.
E. The Castle.
F. High Crosses.
G. A few miscellaneous objects.

We shall now give some descriptive details of the antiquities in each of these groups.

A. Church Buildings.

Twelve, or perhaps thirteen, church buildings are known to have existed at Clonmacnois, of which eight remain in a more or less ruinous condition. As is always the case elsewhere, there is no justification for the name "The Seven Churches," by which the site is popularly known in the district. The order adopted in the following catalogue is chronological, as nearly as possible.

(1) *Teampull Chiarain.*

(St. Ciaran's Church, Eaglais Beag, the Little Church.) This is probably *Eaglais Beag*, "the Little Church," of which we first hear in 921. This date is shortly after the completion of the "Great Stone Church," and the name was then probably given to the older structure, suggested by the contrast in size. The building is traditionally said to be built over St. Ciaran's grave, which is not improbable. Some important ecclesiastic was buried here, and in the grave were found the valuable objects catalogued under section G, below. When Bishop Dopping visited the site, in 1684, St. Ciaran's hand was kept here as a relic.[1] The church was then roofed : the roof-timbers are shown in Blaymires' sketch in Harris's *Ware*, and were remembered by an old man named Patrick Molloy, who guided Dr. O'Donovan over the ruins.

The church is oblong, but not exactly rectangular : it is about 12 ft. 6 in. long, and 8 ft. broad (internal dimensions). The walls are

[1] See the notice of the bishop's visit extracted from the Bishop's books of Meath, by O'Donovan (*Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, Ser. II, vol. i, p. 448 *et seq.*).

about 2 ft. thick. The axial direction, as determined with a prismatic compass, is 86°. As is usual in the earliest church buildings in Ireland, the long sides project (with so-called "antae") beyond the outer faces of the end walls. There is, however, no *anta* at the south-west angle, which is due to the west wall having been almost entirely rebuilt at some comparatively late time. To this rebuilding is to be assigned the west doorway, which is the only architectural feature remaining. It is a rudely built and unsymmetrical opening, which was apparently meant to be finished with a pointed arch: the point of the arch, however, was not constructed, and instead, two flat stones were laid across, to span the opening as lintels. Of these the inner slab has a bevelled edge, and has apparently been taken from a window-sill, or some such part of a building. The outer was evidently a cross-shaped monumental slab, the cross-head being formed by cutting four semicircular notches, two in each edge of a rectangular flagstone. This way of forming a cross-head is not infrequently found in Ireland—there are examples on the Aran Islands and elsewhere; but there is no other specimen at Clonmacnois. There is no trace of any ornament on the exposed surface of this slab. Besides these stones there is built low down in the north jamb of this doorway the head of a standing cross. The end of the fragment has a socket for securing it on to the lower part of the monument of which it formed a part. Only one edge is exposed; it bears an interlacing knot-pattern. Some late architectural fragments are lying inside this building. There is a hole in the floor of the church, made by the peasantry taking away pieces of sacred clay from the site.

(2) *Temple Dowling,*

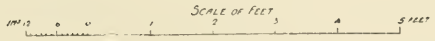
which owes this English and comparatively modern name to Edmund Dowling, of Clondalare, who (according to an inscription over the west door) rebuilt it "to the glory of God and for the use of his posterity," in 1689. This restoration apparently consisted in a repair of the west end, and, perhaps, in the addition of the church known as *Teampull ui Thorpain* (Temple Hurpan) at the east end; for the greater part of Temple Dowling is among the oldest constructions in the cemetery. There are *antae* on the west front. Internally the church measures 31 ft. 6 in. by 16 ft.: the orientation is 101°. There are narrow, rectangular window-openings — little more than loop-hole slits—splayed internally, in the sides, one in the north and two in the south. The east window is round-headed, with sloping jambs; the head is cut out of one stone. The plain pointed west door is, no doubt, due to Dowling.

The chapel is now kept locked, and a number of the monumental slabs are stored in it. O'Donovan (Ord. Sur. Letters) says that it was used as the Protestant church in Archdall's time.

CLONMACNOIS

NORTH DOORWAY OF CATHEDRAL

ELEVATION



PLAN

(3) *Teampull na Gamhnaidhe.*

Bishop Dopping (*loc. cit.*) speaks of a "Temple Ganny" among the buildings seen by him in 1684. It has now completely disappeared, and we can only guess that it may have been a foundation bearing the name of Mael-Brighde na Gamhnaidhe, who died in 888.

(4) *The Cathedral*

(Damhliag Mór, "the Great Stone Church," Coghlan's Church, Mac Dermot's church), originally founded by King Flann and Abbot Colman, in 904. But owing to its many burnings and pillagings it is unlikely that the present structure contains any part of the original building, although it must be noticed that it displays the characteristic *antae* at all four corners. In any case, *all* the architectural features are insertions, some of them of quite late date. The structure is oblong, 62 ft. by 28 ft. 8 in.: the orientation is 104°.

The west doorway was a fine specimen of Romanesque, in four orders. A capital from it is illustrated in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 295. The voussoirs, unfortunately, have all disappeared, except one in the innermost order. There is a flat relieving arch over this doorway.

The north door is a remarkable specimen of late Gothic (Pl. XXXIII) It is of three orders, elaborately moulded, some members of the mouldings being developed in an unusual manner into ropework. Above is a drip moulding, with a highly complex carved pattern of floral devices, interspersed with dragons; the supports of the drip are carried vertically upwards, and end in crocketed finials. Over the point of the arch is a figure of Saint Patrick in low relief: on his right and left, respectively, are similar figures of Saints Dominic and Francis. Over all is a horizontal label, divided into two by a longitudinal groove, interrupted at intervals by small figures of angels; in the upper part of the label, above the groove, are the names of the three saints just mentioned over the heads of each figure; in the lower part is the inscription, *Dns Odo decanus* [*hujus ecclie*] *fieri fecit*, the bracketed letters being doubtful. All this lettering is in Gothic character in relief. This inscription fixes the date of the doorway as *c.* 1460. The effect of the whole composition is very rich, though, perhaps, rather stiff and hard. The inner face of the door is quite plain.

There is a plain doorway, with no special features, in the south wall, immediately opposite the door just described.

The most striking feature of the interior of the church was the chancel, which was a handsome structure of original design. It was evidently a late insertion, and probably was another of Dean Odo's works. This chancel was divided by rows of octagonal columns into three equal and parallel aisles, with five bays in each aisle, roofed with groined vaulting. Nothing of the structure remains but the eight engaged half-columns

round the walls, and the springers of the groining resting upon them: the central columns have disappeared. The capitals and bases of the columns had a simple and rather poor moulding. This chancel was lighted, probably, by a narrow splayed lancet-window at the end of each aisle; but as the east wall has now fallen to below the level of the window-sills, this is not certain. On the south side, in the eastern bay, is a window of two lights, divided by a plain Y mullion, without cusps, such as is very common in late Irish church windows. This is older than the groining of the chancel, as is shown by the way in which the latter structure interferes with the window-splay. Under this window is a square aumbry and a square piscina. In the western bay of the south aisle of the chancel is the arch of the sedilia. This is pointed and rather lofty: the central attached pier of the chancel cuts off the greater part of the eastern side, showing that it too is older than the groining. Above the chancel groining was a loft, lighted by three windows, two in the south, and one, divided into two by a mullion, in the north. Whether this loft opened into the nave or not is doubtful: there is no trace of a party-wall in the masonry on either side.

A pointed doorway on the south side admits to the sacristy, which measures 22 ft. by 20 ft. 6 in. It has narrow round-headed windows. Most of the monumental slabs are stored here.

There is a chamber over the sacristy, accessible through a low doorway, raised some feet above ground on the west side, now closed with an iron gate. This chamber was a dwelling-place, with a fireplace and octagonal chimney.

The church was repaired by Charles Coghlan, the Vicar, in 1647, at his own expense, hence one of the alternative names of the building.

(5) *Teampull ui Cillene.*

Probably founded by Cormac ua Cillene, 964. This building was seen by Bishop Dopping, who refers to it; but it has now quite disappeared and left no trace. It was east of Teampull Finghin, to judge from Blaymires' plan.

(6) *Teampull Chonchobair*

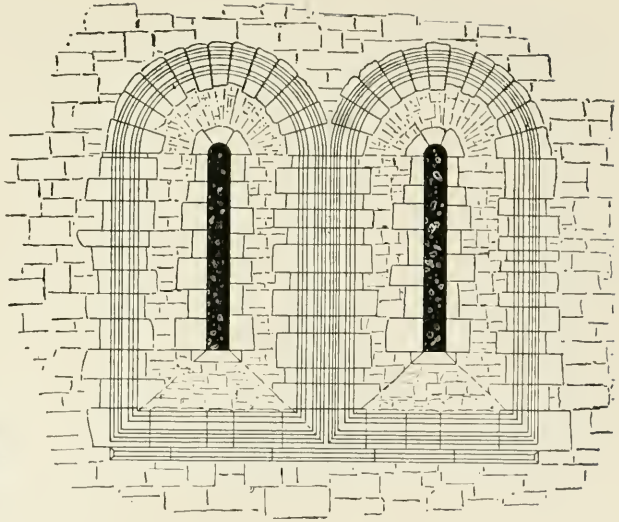
(Temple Connor) may preserve the name of Cathal mac Conchobair, King of Connacht, who died in 1009 or 1010. According to the *Register of Clonmacnois*,[1] he bestowed certain lands on the monastery in return for a burial-place. The date, 1224, given by O'Donovan (*ad loc.*) for the chieftain who made these grants, is too late for the architecture of the church.

[1] A seventeenth-century translation of a lost mediaeval Irish document, edited by O'Donovan (*Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, ser. II, vol. I, pp. 448–460). It contains a list of grants and donations made to the settlement by the neighbouring local chieftains in return for rights of burial and other privileges.

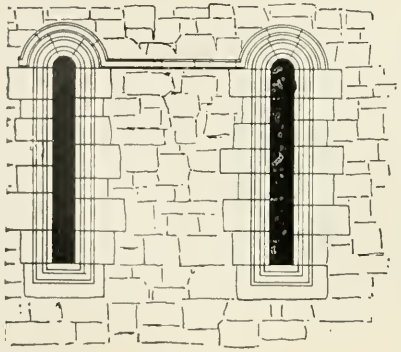
CLONMACNOIS

WINDOW IN EAST END OF TEMPLE RI

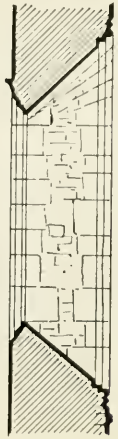
SCALE OF FEET



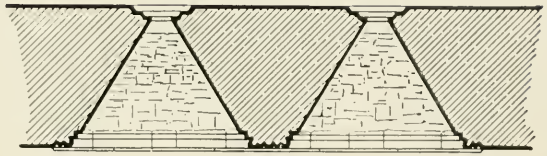
INTERIOR ELEVATION



EXTERIOR ELEVATION



SECTION



PLAN

PLATE XXXIV

The building was long ruinous, but was repaired and adapted for the services of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It measures externally 42 ft. 8 in. by 26 ft. 6 in. To the north is a burial enclosure, assigned in Harris's time to the great local family of the Malones.

The only features of architectural interest remaining are a round-headed western doorway, with simply moulded imposts extending through the thickness of the wall, and a small, round-headed window, now blocked by a monument inside. According to O'Donovan (O. S. Letters) the Field-books call this structure Temple Kieran.

(7) *Teampull ui Maeil-Shechlainn.*

(Melaghlin's Church, also called "Temple Ri," *Teampull an Riogh*, the king's church.) A rude oblong building of the early part of the twelfth century. It measures 41 ft. by 17 ft. 8 in., the walls being about 3 ft. thick. The orientation is 98°. Small moulded corbels project from the west end of the north wall and the east end of the south wall. The south door is apparently a reconstruction : it is pointed, and over it is a moulded drip, also pointed. The apex of the drip is not vertically over that of the doorway, but is rather to the east of it.

There is a pointed lancet window in the south side, and an effective window in the east, consisting of two round-headed lancets, deeply splayed internally, with simple mouldings along the margins of the splays. (See Plate XXXIV.)

A timber loft or gallery was built at the western end of the church, and extended over more than half its area. The putlog holes for the ends of the joists supporting this structure are to be seen in a row along both the side walls, and across the western end.

(8) *Teampull ui Ceallaigh*

(Temple Kelly) is, perhaps, the church erected by Conchobar ui Cellaigh in 1167, in place of the *dertheach* or penitentiary. It lies to the north of the cathedral, but only the foundations remain. These measure 32 ft. 6 in. by 22 ft. There were no "antae" to this building.

A "bullaun" or cupped boulder-stone lies to the west of the south-west corner of the church. According to O'Donovan (O. S. Letters) this was "the mausoleum of the O'Kellys of Hy Many."

(9) *Teampull Finghin.*

(MacCarthy's Church and Tower.) This is the first church we come to having a clear division between chancel and nave. The foundation is of very ancient date : as early as 610 we hear of an anchorite being established at the Holy Well of Finghin, which is about midway between the church and the Shannon, but rather to the west of the direct line. The churchyard appropriated to the church contained a great oak tree,

which was blown down by a storm in 1013. No part of the existing church, however, can be of so remote a date, notwithstanding statements that have been made about it in the heat of controversy. Plate XXXVI).

This controversy has its roots in the now moribund "Round Tower question." For there is a round tower attached to the church, which Brash and others have laboured to prove of date anterior to the church; while Dr. Petrie's views have been that the two are coeval. A minor question, about which there is a difference of opinion, is the chronological relation between the nave and the chancel.

It will be well, first, to give such details of description as cannot be contested, and then to proceed to examine the matters in dispute.

The *chancel* is a well-built structure, 8 ft. 6 in. by 8 ft. 8 in. It has a round-headed east window, not very deeply splayed. The jambs slope, but very slightly. The head is built internally of voussoirs: outside it is cut out of a single stone. The window does not very forcibly recall the early church windows, with oblique jambs and deep splays. There are two aumbries in the east end, made simply by leaving out a square stone from the masonry of the wall. The north side has no architectural details; on the south side was a single-light window, splayed, under which are a square aumbry and a piscina. The drain of the piscina is of the usual scalloped type, but differs in detail from the normal form. The scallopings are unusually numerous, are rather flat, and are sunk in the middle of a raised circular disc on the floor of the piscina. There are some modern pilgrims' offerings in this piscina—hair-pins, a hollow tooth, and a fragment of a glass lustre: similar trifles have been left in the piscina of the Cathedral. A round-headed doorway just west of the south window admits to the tower.

Between chancel and nave is a handsome but much-mutilated Romanesque arch in three orders. The outer order has a round jamb-shaft: the impost of the north jamb is broken away, that of the south jamb bears a head with a hood and a large round collar. The arch of the outer order is decorated with a simple moulding. The second order has likewise a round jamb-shaft on each side, which is interrupted at intervals by beak-heads. There are Romanesque capitals of simple pattern, and the arch is richly decorated with chevrons. The innermost order is a plain addition, apparently comparatively modern, in a stone of different colour. It is probably a restoration, taking the place of the original order, which must have been destroyed in some way.

The nave is oblong, measuring 29 ft. by 14 ft. 5 in. It is ruined almost to its foundations, and the only detail of which traces remain is the entrance door, which was at the west end of the south side. If we may judge by the two courses of the jambs, which are all that remain, this doorway was in three orders, the innermost decorated with chevrons, the second beaded, and the outer plain.

The tower, which is on the south side, at the intersection of the nave and chancel, is 56 ft. high to the base of the conical cap, according to Brash, and 15 ft. 2 in. in external diameter at the base. The masonry is good ashlar work. The construction of the cap is remarkable: it is formed of rhomboidal blocks, each course being sloped in the direction opposite to that of its neighbour, so that the whole has a herring-bone effect. The actual height is 48 ft. to the base of cap, and diameter at ground-level 12 ft. 6 in.

The windows of the tower are partly blocked by birds' nests, so that the interior is rather dark, and it is difficult to detect its internal arrangements. So far as I can see, there are eight offsets in the inner surface of the wall; or, to be more strictly accurate, eight narrow horizontal shelves projecting all round, a couple of inches or so from the surface of the wall. This agrees with the independently made observation of Mr. Westropp; but I cannot agree in regarding all of these as the supports of permanent floors, which Mr. Westropp appears to consider them.[1] Some of them are too close together to allow of head-room between the supposed floors. If they served any purpose at all, they were probably made by the masons who built the tower as supports for temporary scaffolding. The entrance to the tower is on the ground-floor, which is unusual. There are seven windows, two in the belfry loft, and the other five disposed here and there on the south side of the tower. These were, no doubt, intended for the illumination of the platforms that supported the wooden ladders by which the belfry loft was reached. There were probably three of these platforms. I do not quite understand the statement that has been made as to there being no openings in the top for the bell-ringer. There are certainly two—perhaps unusually far down from the base of the cap, and perhaps unusually small, but quite unmistakable. These face respectively south and east. There were no openings to the other side, because none were needed there. In that direction were the low and marshy lands bordering on the Shannon, where probably there were no dwellings. The eastern window is one of those which are not visible from inside, being blocked by a bird's nest.

Numbering these seven windows from bottom to top—ending with the eastern window in the belfry loft—we see that all, except Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are round-headed, and are thoroughly Romanesque in "feeling," though, being small, they are cut out of single stones, and not built up with voussoirs. The other windows named above are square-headed; but even of these, No. 4 is sunk in a round-headed panel. All the windows, except No 1, are in similar panels, which are square-headed only in Nos. 2 and 3. Nos. 4 and 5, like No. 7, are blocked by nests, and not a ray of light penetrates through them.

[1] In his very useful article on Clonmacnois in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 277.

The easiest part of the church to date is the nave. This cannot be far from 1167—the date of the Nuns' Church, with which, in the decoration of its arches, it has much in common.

The chancel cannot be much, if at all, earlier. The masonry is more carefully executed, but, perhaps, that is merely an expression of the reverence due to the more sacred part of the building. The east window, as we have seen, does not really suggest one of the oblique-jambed windows of the primitive churches; and the absence of "antae" at the external angles is another argument against assigning an early date to the chancel. Speaking for myself, I examined the church, fully prepared, by what I had read, to see a difference of five or six hundred years between the nave and chancel; but I came away from it convinced that no such difference exists, and that the whole building, so far as these two members are concerned, is of one date. The chancel, as a whole, is not unlike the chancel of the Nuns' Church.

The conclusion at which I arrived with regard to the tower may be stated at once, the reasons on which it is based being given below. So far from regarding the tower as an older structure to which the church was added, as the "Pagan Round Tower" advocates supposed, I consider the tower to have been erected at the same time, or, perhaps, when the rest of the structure had been finished.

Those who consider the tower as earlier than the church base their arguments on two architectural details which call for most careful consideration—

(1) The curve of the tower, if continued downward to the ground in an unbroken sweep, would fall within the nave between the chancel-arch and the south-east angle, which it would inconveniently fill up, interfering with the south jamb of the chancel-arch. Accordingly, "the ashlar of the tower has been removed bodily for some distance from the floor, and the superstructure supported by a squinch, or skew arch, springing from the two walls that meet in the south-east angle. Then the part under the squinch has been rudely and violently hacked away, the work of destruction being suspended only when it was found that the tower was being undermined." Though this does not profess to be a literal quotation from any writer on the subject, I think it is a fair statement of the observation.

(2) A groove has been roughly made in the wall of the tower to allow of the insertion of the edge of the roof of the nave; and a similar groove has been made on the chancel side for the accommodation of the chancel roof.

With regard to (1), the following remarks must be made:—The squinch is a round-headed arch of two orders. It is of a stone apparently harder and stronger than the rest of the stone used in the structure, and differing slightly in colour. It seems to have been inserted after the walls of the nave were built, for the masonry of the nave walls

has been cut to admit of the insertion of the springers of the arch. Underneath the squinch a perverted fancy on the part of the architect has led him to insert in the angle of the nave an awkward-looking square pier with a bowtell, or roll-moulding, running up the edge, and ending above, just under the inner order of the squinch, with a clumsy capital. This bowtell-moulding is of the same reddish stone as the squinch, and a different stone from that of the nave or tower. It is much injured, and, indeed, only one stone of the twelve of which it was composed is not battered almost out of recognition. *This bowtell-moulding, and not the substructure of the tower*, is what has been "hacked away." There is not the smallest trace or evidence anywhere, underneath the level of the squinch, of the masonry of the tower having existed in the south-east corner of the nave.

But the squinch, as we have seen, has been inserted in the nave walls when, or after, the latter were built. It is the simplest of all possible theories to suppose that *then* the tower was erected, over the squinch: for the work of inserting the squinch while the tower was *in situ* would be a task of exceeding difficulty, and would, I believe, involve undermining the structure.

Before proceeding to discuss the second point, let us examine further the construction of the tower, especially at the points where it meets the walls of the other members of the church, to see whether this deduction finds support. For we might expect to find valuable evidence from the bonding of the masonry. If two adjacent buildings are contemporary, or if one be an addition already in contemplation, and prepared for, when the other was being built (like the later houses of a row of villas), then they will probably be united by a strong bond. If the second be added later, there will either be a straight joint, and no bond, or there will be a kind of artificial bond, mortices being cut in the older structure at intervals, and tenons made in the masonry of the later to fit into them. Further, when there is a straight joint, a moment's thought will show that if the walls of the two structures meet in an angle, the joint must be *along the face of the older wall*.

The circumference of the tower meets the church in the following places:—on the outside of the chancel wall, where there is a straight joint *along the face of the chancel wall*; on the inside of the chancel wall, where, under the roof, the line of the tower is interrupted (as inside the nave under the squinch), the superstructure of the tower being here supported on corbelling projecting from the chancel wall above the door that enters the tower; on the chancel side of the wall between nave and chancel, where both inside and outside the tower a straight joint, *along the face of the church wall*, is to be seen; on the nave side of the same wall, above the squinch; and on the outside of the nave down to the ground, where, most unfortunately, the nave wall is destroyed, leaving a ragged rent down the tower wall. But an examination of the

rent shows that there has here been the artificial bonding mentioned above. It is not sufficiently clear to allow us to say definitely whether at this point the tower has been adapted to the nave, or the nave to the tower. But seeing that everywhere else the indications are in favour of the tower having been adapted to the church, we can fairly say that there is nothing here contrary to the theory of that order of building.

Dr. Cochrane, who has examined the foundations of the structure, tells me that they are continuous, the nave and tower foundations being at the same depth, and of precisely similar character. This offers an argument in favour of regarding the two as contemporary.

But this leads us to the second point above quoted. There is no question that the masonry of the tower has been grooved, *after* having been laid in position, to receive the roof of the nave and chancel. At first sight this fact, which must be admitted without question, would seem fatally opposed to any theory but the one, namely, that which regards the tower as the earlier structure; but, instead of this, it fits in perfectly with the view here advocated. For obviously it would be necessary to demolish partially the original roof of the church when the tower was run through it; and the grooves were cut after the work was finished, not for the original roof, but for the restored roof, put on when the tower had been completed. The surviving gable, over the chancel-arch, seems to show evidence of the roof having been raised. According to O'Donovan, the Field-books describe this church as "Temple Ri."

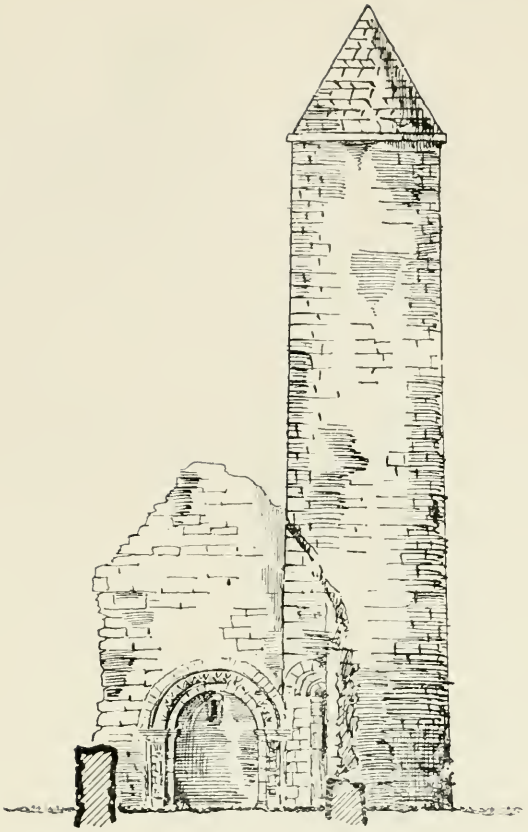
(10) *The Nuns' Church.*

Probably a convent for nuns was early founded near the holy city of Ciaran, but nothing is left of it save the very handsome little church restored, as the annalists tell us, by the unhappy Derbhforgaill (Dervorgilla) in 1180. The building as it stands now consists of a nave, 36 ft. by 19 ft. 7 in., and chancel, 14 ft. 9 in. by 13 ft. 10 in. The orientation is 111°.

The western doorway (Plate XXXVIII) is in four orders, adorned with grotesque beak-heads and other ornaments. The soffit was decorated with chevrons, but only one original voussoir remains.

The chancel-arch (Plate XXXVII) is one of the finest Romanesque arches remaining in Ireland. It is in three orders, richly adorned with chevrons and diaper ornament. On the seventh voussoir of the outer order, on the north side, is a small *Sile na geic*, less obtrusive than others of its kind. There is an immense variety of detail in the ornament of this arch, all worthy of most careful study.

At the foot of the altar is lying a small bullaun. This fine structure, which had fallen into extreme ruin, was judiciously excavated and repaired in 1865 by the Society, under the direction of the Rev. James Graves. The present aspects of the altar and of the east window date from this restoration.



ELEVATION OF CHANCEL ARCH & TOWER

SCALE OF FEET

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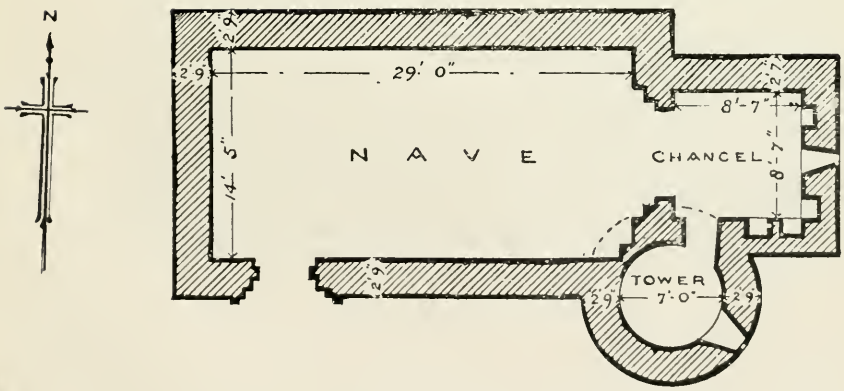
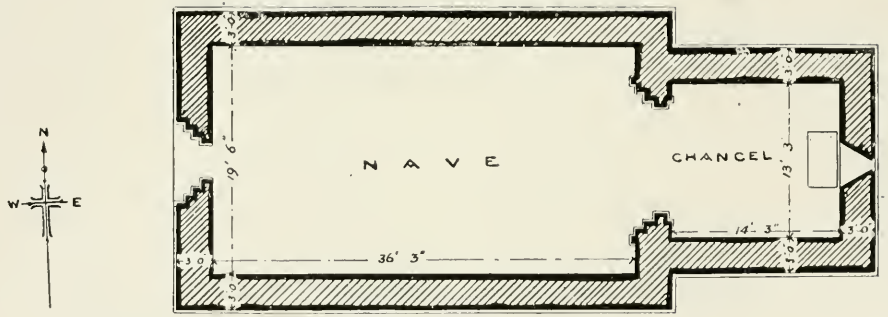


GROUND PLAN.

TEMPLE FINGHIN

Temple Finghin and Round Tower



GROUND PLAN

SCALE OF FEET

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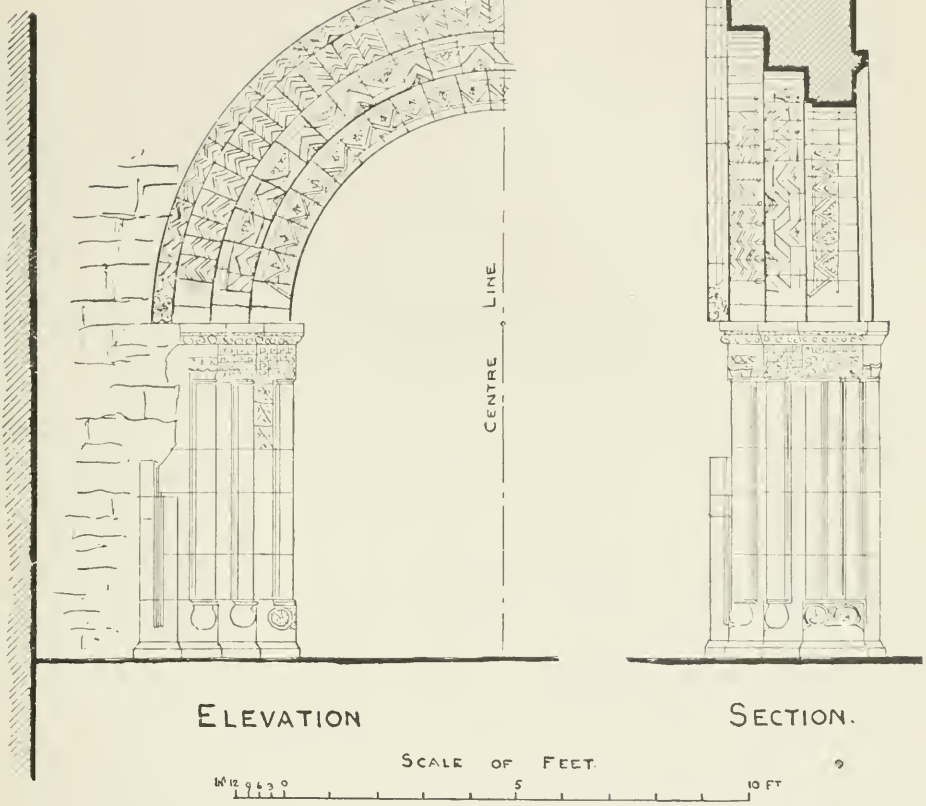
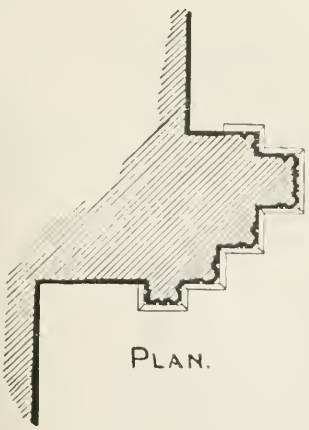
THE NUNS' CHURCH.

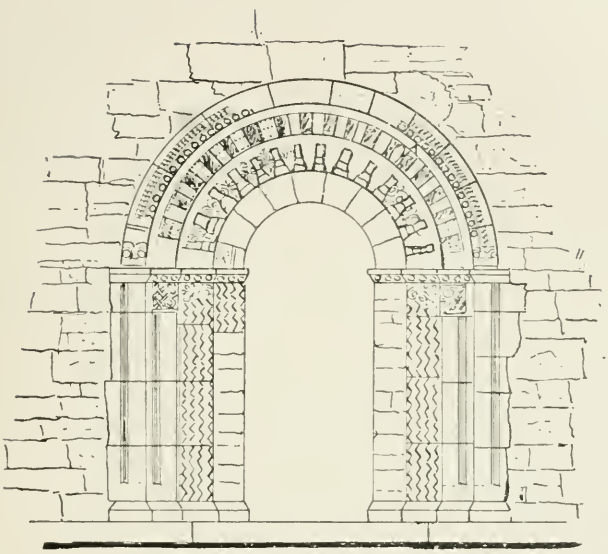
PLATE XXXVI

Chancel Arch.

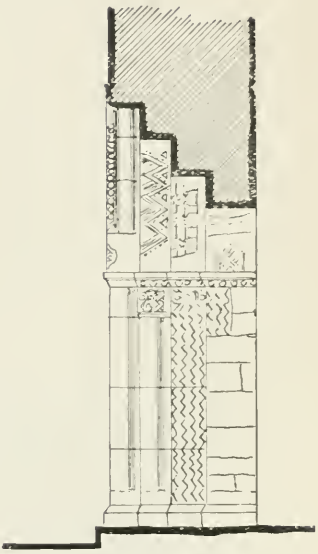




WEST DOORWAY.

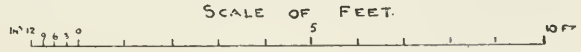


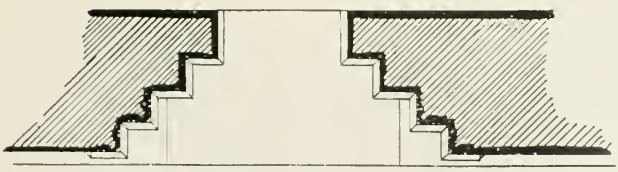
ELEVATION.



SECTION.

SCALE OF FEET.





PLAN.

THE NUNS' CHURCH

(11) *Teampull ui Thorpain*

(Temple Hurpan, MacLaffy's Church), a structure of no special interest, built on to the east end of Temple Dowling, possibly in the 1689 restoration of that building. It measures 22 ft. 10 in. by 12 ft. 9 in. The orientation is 103°. There is a round-headed south door, with a square niche over it, on the outside of the wall. At the east end is a large plain cast window of rubble masonry, and close by, in the south wall, a plain aumbry.

(12) *Teampull Easpog*

(The Bishops' Church) is mentioned by Dopping, but nothing is known of it. The name gives no information as to its origin.

(13) *Teampull Bearnáin Chiaráin*

(The Church of the Gapped [Bell] of Ciaran) is mentioned in the Annals under date 1077. Which, if any, of the churches above described represents this structure it is now impossible to say.

B.—Round Towers.

Of the round tower attached to Teampull Finghin we have already spoken sufficiently. The other, commonly called O'Rourke's Tower, on account of a doubtful tradition assigning its construction to Fergal na Ruaire, slain 964, was already in existence in 1124, when it was "finished." In 1135 it was struck by lightning and partly demolished. The present top, which has the unusual number of eight window-openings, and which is obviously of different and inferior masonry to the rest of the tower, was probably built after this accident. The cap is gone. The present height of the tower is said to be 62 ft. The door is 11 ft. 3 in. above the ground. The circumference at the base is 58 ft. 8 in.

C.—Holy Wells.

Of these there are two in the immediate neighbourhood of the cemetery. One, dedicated to St. Ciaran, is about a quarter of a mile to the west of the monastery. The slab No. 141 is lying there, and there is also a strange, rude crucifix of modern work, carved in stone, to be seen. The other is close to the Shannon, to the north of the cemetery, and is dedicated to St. Finghin. It is not marked in any way, and shows no features of interest.

D.—Earthworks and Roadways.

Traces of earthworks remain to the north of the present cemetery wall: and there is an extensive system of mounds, among which the

castle is built, to the west. The remains of earthworks noted are as follows :—

(1) A much-levelled earth wall, slightly curved, to the north of the cemetery wall; possibly an old boundary of the cemetery of St. Finghin.

(2) West of this, and north-west of O'Rourke's Tower, a square enclosure surrounded by a low earth wall, about forty-two paces square.

(3) The castle earthworks, which consist of a large double vallum with a deep fosse between, enclosing a broad area in the middle: the castle is built in the south side of this enclosure. The outer vallum is approximately circular: it is loftiest towards the south, and diminishes to nothing at the north. The circumference is 420 paces. The inner vallum is approximately square. There is a smaller earth enclosure to the west, evidently forming part of the same system. Possibly this is to be identified with the "Abbot's enclosure," of which we hear in 1135 and 1205.

The construction of causeways is mentioned in the Annals under dates 1026 and 1070. Of these old causeways one remains in part. It is a narrow passage, roughly paved with flat, rounded slabs, not fitting together closely. It runs eastward from the east gate of the cemetery, and trends in the direction of the Nuns' Church. The causeway extends unbroken for fifty-eight paces, after which is a long gap: then it reappears for a short run, and the last existing fragment is at 103 paces from the beginning. Nothing more is to be seen of the causeway: but at a modern gate, a little less than half-way to the nunnery, there begins a long, raised ridge of gravel. It is not clear whether this is a natural esker, or artificially heaped up—the former is more probable. It runs continuously to the Nuns' Cemetery. The path along the foot of this ridge shows no sign of antiquity, save that a short distance east of the gate just mentioned there is a stone sunk level with the surface of the ground and partly covered over, with two deep conical cup-hollows in the top. This is perhaps for grain-milling; but unless the stone could be dug out and completely examined it would not be possible to say much about it. Local tradition (as Mr. Walter Campbell of Athlone informs me) says that here St. Ciaran's cow stumbled, and made the marks in the stone: I believe the water that accumulates in the cups is considered a remedy for toothache or some such malady.

E.—The Castle.

This fortress consists of a rectangular courtyard, with a gatehouse at the north-west side, and a keep to the north. There is not much of architectural interest in the building, except perhaps a spiral stair-turret in the keep, with the marks of the wooden centering still traceable in the vaulted cement roof. The history of this building is not known. Some references to it will be found in the citations given above from

The Cross of King Flann

Sweetman's Calendar. It was built by the English in 1220: and evidently its final destruction wss due to gunpowder; but the time and circumstances are apparently not on record. Every visitor to Clonmacnois is struck by the way in which the fallen tower has held together by the strength of its mortar.

F.—The High Crosses.

It is not proposed here to enter into details of the iconography or the ornamentation of the High Crosses, which would be more in place in a work specially devoted to these monuments: for they illustrate one another in such a way, that one cannot be exhaustively discussed without reference to many others. The surviving crosses, most of them fragmentary, are five in number.

(1) *King Flann's Cross.*

A wheel-cross, 10 ft. high; on one face of the cross the Crucifixion, on the other the Last Judgment. On the shaft are twelve panels, three on each face and each edge, with figure subjects. Below these, in the broad faces, were inscriptions, which even in Blaymires' time were so battered as to be barely legible. Dr. Petrie read in them a statement that this grand monument was erected by Abbot Colman as a memorial for King Flann. The surviving fragments of lettering seem to work in with his reading, but it cannot all be made out. On the base there is on the eastern face a procession of figures in chariots: the western face is destroyed. There is a representation of the divine hand on the soffit of the cross-arm. There are in all about fifty figures sculptured on the cross, which is covered as well with ornamental patterns, of which the details are worthy of most careful study.

This is probably the *Cross of the Scriptures* and the *High Cross*, mentioned in the Annals at 957 and 1060. From the latter entry it was evidently a sanctuary; and it must have been a heinous crime on the part of the marauders named to take prisoners from under its protection. Close by this cross is lying the top stone of a round-headed splayed window. It is locally called St. Ciaran's chair: to sit in the "chair" is regarded as a remedy for backache.

(2) *The South Cross.*

Unlike its neighbour, which is monolithic, this cross is made of three pieces. It is 9 ft. high. On the west face of the *shaft* (not the *cross-head*) is sculptured a representation of the Crucifixion, but the rest of the cross is covered with panels of spirals, bosses, and interlacings.

(3) *The North Cross,*

which stands just west of the foundation of Teampull ui Cellaigh, is now reduced to a shaft, much defaced. The east side is quite plain. The west side has five panels of interlacing ornament. The north and south sides have four panels each, all interlacings, but one in each side which contains a figure.

(4, 5) *Two Fragments in Temple Dowling.*

The first of these is a shaft only, the head being lost. On one face is a beast with a floriated tail; below it is a man on horseback; then a stag; and then four men interlaced, as on a similar cross at Kilklispeen. On the other face are interlacing pattens, a beast, two men interlaced, and a panel of plaitwork. The two edges have interlacing knots and dragons.

Only one panel of the other remains. It bears two monstrous creatures and a horse and rider.

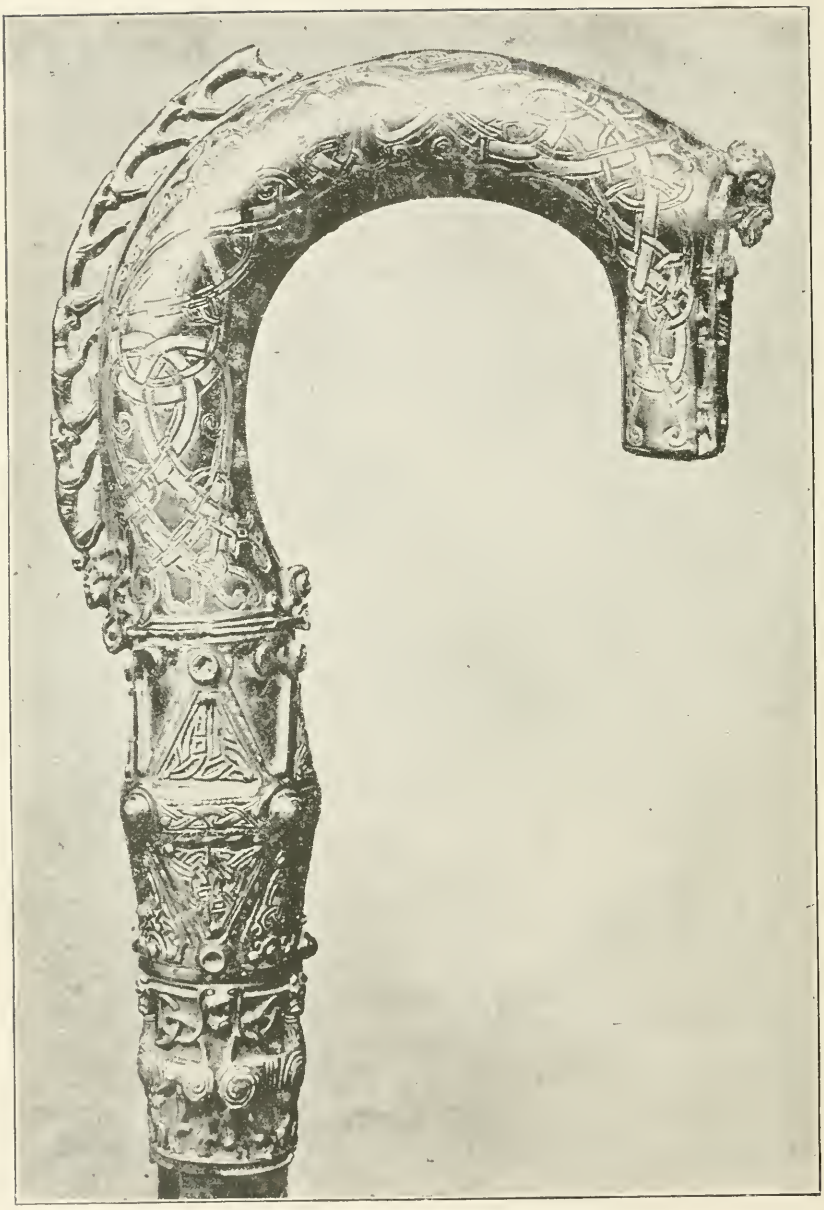
Both these crosses are well illustrated by Mr. Romilly Allen in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1896–7, pp. 311, 312.

We have references at 918, 1026, and 1070, to a "Cairn of the Three Crosses," beside which ran the road from the monastery to the nunnery. There is a cairn about ten feet square, of fair-sized stones heaped together, but now demolished almost to the ground, on the summit of the esker mentioned in section D as being a continuation of that road. Near this was lying the slab of Turcán when I saw it first. Though I question the connexion of Turcán's stone with the *Uluidh na dtri geros*, this cairn is in the right place to be identified with it; and I have little doubt that it actually represents the monument. On the other hand, nothing is known of the crosses "of Bishop Etchen," or "of Congal," mentioned in 1070. Congal probably was the prior of that name, 821 or 843, and possibly one of the unnamed fragments above described belongs to his monument. Etchen (the Bishop of Clonfad, who ordained St. Columba, *ob.* 576 or 583 AU) is far too early to be associated with any of the existing monuments.

It is noteworthy that the high crosses have set a model followed—distantly—by the modern monuments in the cemetery. The most curious of these is a miniature representation of the Round Tower, the High Cross, and the Cathedral, cast in cement, in memory of a young child.

G.—Miscellaneous Objects.

The constant plunderings to which the monastery was subject sufficiently account for the poverty of Clonmacnois in portable



The Crozier of St. Ciaran

antiquities. A few have been dug up from time to time, and the following are what I have found recorded:—

A ring of bog oak, slightly oval in form, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, and cut in spiral plait-work. (Presented 14th April, 1890, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: see *Proceedings*, vol. xxiv, p. 411.)

A "gold crown" and "collar," apparently found some time about 1861. Little is known of this discovery, which gave rise to a strange story that went round the newspapers at the time of the discovery of a cave, "the retreat of the Irish kings," with stones "covered with Ogham writing," &c.

In the Church of St. Ciaran were found, early in the last century, a rosary of brass wire; a hollow ball of brass, which opened; a chalice and wine vessel; and the beautiful crozier, figured Plate XL.

A pin, with S ornamentation, figured in Miss Stokes's *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (S. Kensington Handbooks).

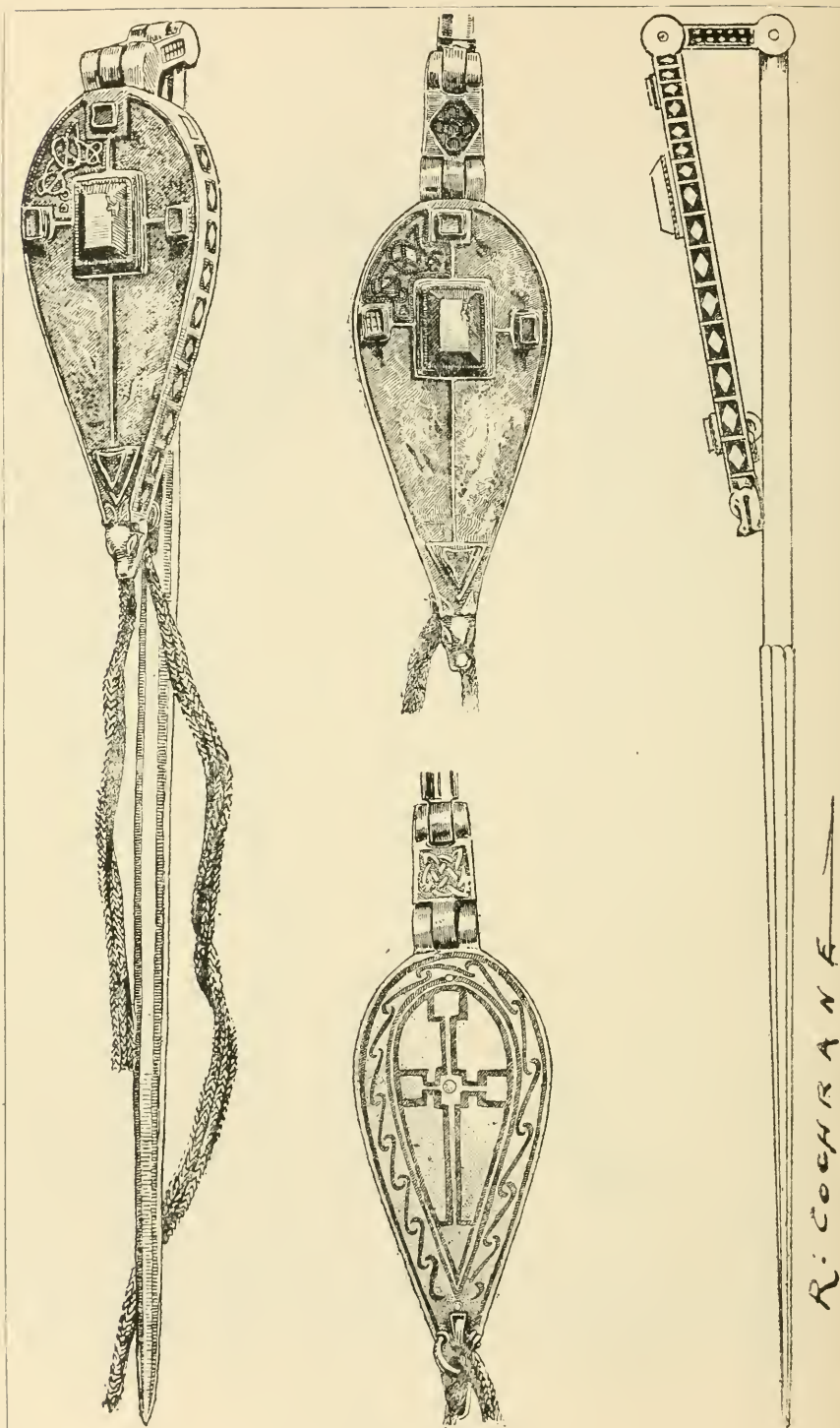
A gold ring or torque, in the Royal Irish Academy collection, with spiral ornaments upon it, figured in Wood-Martin's *Pagan Ireland*, p. 507.

"The Clonmacnois brooch," described and illustrated in vol. xxi, pp. 318–9 of the Society's *Journal*, is of a rather peculiar shape, the pin being $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with a kite-shaped pendant, measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. in length, and 1 in. in width at its widest part, which is secured to the pin by a double-hinged reversible joint. This interesting object is of silver, with gold filigree work in the quadrant spaces formed between the arms of the central cross on the brooch and its circumference. The spaces in which the gold filigree work was set was *niello* work. The shape of the pendant is not unlike that of "King Alfred's Jewel" in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

The illustrations convey a good idea of the appearance of this brooch. They are drawn to full size.

It is said that a good many bronze pins were found and dispersed during the restoration of the Nuns' Church. From time to time fragments of old leather shoes, bronze pins, buckles, &c., are found by turf-diggers in the surrounding bogs. It should not be forgotten that some of the objects (such as the R. I. A. torque, which is of the bronze age) are too old to have any but an accidental local connexion with the monastery.

I have not had time or opportunity of discovering whether any legends exist locally relating to the past history of the monastery. The frailties of Derbhforgaill and her connexion with the Nuns' Church seem to be dimly remembered; it is probable, however, that this is not a genuine tradition, but derived from books or papers. Worthy of passing notice is an ancient practice still always observed when funerals



Clonmacnois Brooch-Pin.

take place in the cemetery. On the road from Athlone, about half a mile, the road crosses a steep and lofty esker, from the top of which a view of the churches and their towers can be obtained. When a funeral procession reaches the top of this esker, it is stopped, and the coffin taken from the hearse and then replaced, after which the procession proceeds to its destination.

BOOKS, &c., CONSULTED.

Ware's *Bishops*, ed. Harris (1739).—On a folding-plate is a collection of rude but useful sketches of the ruins of the arch of the Nuns' Church, the west doorway of the Cathedral, Dean Odo's doorway, a plan of the Nuns' Church, a view of the castle and earthworks, the two principal crosses, a plan of the cemetery, and a general view of the cemetery.

Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (1845) has summary descriptions of some of the principal buildings, and among the illustrations will be found a plan, details, and view of Teampull Finghin, capitals of the west doorway of the cathedral, the doorway of O'Rourke's tower, and a rather idealized view of the same building, and five of the monumental slabs.

Wilkinson's *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland* (1845) describes O'Rourke's tower, and illustrates that of Teampull Finghin.

O'Neill's *High Crosses of Ireland*, plates 22–27, show the two principal crosses, with details, with thirty-three of the monumental slabs.

Notes on the Architecture of Ireland; *Clonmacnois* (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, i, p. 141).—A summary history of the monastery, with a description of the buildings. The following illustrations are given:—Sketch-plan of the cemetery (after the plan in Ware), chimney of the Cathedral, view and details of Teampull Finghin, cap of its round tower, window of Teampull Maeil-Shechlainn, a loose window-head, called "St. Ciaran's Chair," and details of the chancel-arch of the Nuns' Church.

Brash's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (1875).—On pp. 61–85 is a good account of the site, though coloured by the author's views on certain archæological questions. Illustrations are given of the plan of the cemetery, Teampull Finghin (plan, view, and details), Nuns' Church (plan, mouldings, and details), Teampull Maeil-Shechlainn (east window, interior).

Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*.—Volume ii contains photographs of the Nuns' Church and the east end of Teampull Maeil-Shechlainn, with a few notes.

Margaret Stokes's *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland.*—Clonmacnois is only incidentally referred to. There are illustrations of details from the Nuns' Church and Teampull Chonchobair, and a capital from "McCarthy's Church" (Teampull Finghin).

Westropp's *Ancient Buildings and Crosses at Clonmacnois.*—In the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 277, 329. Two articles. The first is a useful account of the monastery buildings. It gives a sketch-plan of the central group of churches, and a drawing of Odo's doorway and the principal crosses, with plans of Teampull Finghin and the Nuns' Church, and some details of the latter, as well as the photograph of the crozier. The other article, a Hand-guide for the Society's Excursion in 1907, has two photographs of Teampull Finghin and the Nuns' Church, by Mr. H. S. Crawford.

From papers and notes by Mr. H. S. Crawford, in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, on Irish Crosses, the two illustrations on Plates XXXII and XXXIX have been borrowed.

The Seventy-fifth Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland contains the drawings here reproduced (Plates XXXIII–XXXVIII), as well as the Plates of the cross-slabs (Plates I–XXXI). See also a work by the Very Rev. Canon Monahan, D.D., entitled, "Records relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnois" (M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin).

Other references will be found in the preceding pages. The sources of historical information have been consulted in their ordinary editions—the *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan); the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and the *Annals of Ulster* and of *Loch Cé*, in the Rolls Series; the *Annals of Clonmacnois* (ed. Murphy), published by the Society; and the *Annals of Tighernach* (ed. Stokes), in the *Revue Celtique*, vols. xvi–xviii. The *Registry of Clonmacnois*, a seventeenth-century translation of a lost mediaeval Irish document, has been edited by O'Donovan in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, Ser. II., vol. i, pp. 448–460. It contains a list of grants and donations made to the settlement by the surrounding local chieftains in return for rights of burial and other privileges.

Of some historical interest also are notices which will be found here and there in the *Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1864 and subsequent years, relating to the prosecution, by the Society, of a person for wilful damage to the remains, and the restorations undertaken under the direction of the Rev. J. Graves.

GUR SAERA DIA INTÉ DA TIC
ISÉ IS RIAR DO CACH REILIC!

FINAL NOTE ADDED IN PRESS.

The missing Sechmapach quern-stone (*Christian Inscriptions*, No. 113) has been found by Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong among a quantity of other stone objects stored in the vaults of the Museum. It is now on view. The foregoing sheets had already been printed off when I was informed of this, so that it was not possible to record the recovery of the monument in the proper place.

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